Marginalization and Marginal Groups in Byzantium

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Marginalization and Marginal Groups in Byzantium

Prostitutes, Actors, and Tavernkeepers

Edited by
Despoina Ariantzi

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This volume is dedicated to the memory of my beloved motherly friend
Dr. Anneliese Paul (1940–2023)

Acknowledgments

This volume originated from an international symposium titled “Marginalization and Subculture Groups: Prostitutes, Actors, and Tavernkeepers in Byzantium,” which took place in Vienna on May 16–17, 2019. Most chapters were initially presented as papers at this conference. Additional contributions were later included to enhance the thematic diversity of the volume.

The symposium closely aligned with the research project “Marginalization and Subculture Groups: Prostitutes, Actors, and Tavernkeepers in Byzantium (Sixth–Twelfth Centuries),” hosted by the Department of Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies at the University of Vienna. This project was sponsored by the Austrian Science Fund (FWF) from 2016 to 2020 (P 27865-G25). I am grateful to the FWF for its generous support of both the project and the conference.

I extend my heartfelt thanks to the project leader, Prof. Emeritus Ewald Kislinger, for his collaboration and steadfast support in numerous aspects. I also express my sincere appreciation to all contributors for their participation in the conference and for sharing their findings in this volume.

During the preparation of this volume, I received encouragement and valuable insights from cherished friends and scholars whom I wish to acknowledge: Dr. Anneliese Paul, who provided linguistic corrections to all German chapters, and Dr. Carolina Cupane, who reviewed several papers and offered excellent feedback. My warmest thanks go to my husband, Prof. Alexander Daniel Beihammer, for his continual support and insightful comments.

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Despoina Ariantzi
Vienna, Mai 2025

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Abbreviations

AASS	Acta Sanctorum
AB	Analecta Bollandiana
B.	Basilicorum Libri LX, eds. Herman J. Scheltema and Nicolaas Van der Wal (Groningen, 1955–1974)
BHG	Bibliotheca Hagiographica Graeca
BMGS	Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies
Byz	Byzantion
BZ	Byzantinische Zeitschrift
CJ	*Codex Justinianus*, ed. Paul Krueger (Berlin, 1906)
CCSG	Corpus Christianorum, Series Graeca
CCSL	Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina
CFHB	Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae
CSHB	Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae
CTh	*Codex Theodosianus*, eds. Theodor Mommsen and Paul Meyer, *Theodosiani libri XVI cum constitutionibus Sirmondianis et leges Novellae ad Theodosianum pertinentes* (Berlin, 1905, repr. Princeton, 1952)
D.	Digesta, Corpus Iuris Civilis, vol. 1, eds. Theodor Mommsen and Paul Krüger (Berlin, 1872, repr. 1973)
DOP	Dumbarton Oaks Papers
EEBS	Ἐπετηρίς Ἑταιρείας Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν
FM	Fontes Minores
GCS	Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller
GRBS	Greek Roman and Byzantine Studies
JECS	Journal of Early Christian Studies
JGR	Jus Graecoromanum, eds. Ioannis Zepos and Panagiotis Zepos, 8 vols. (Athens, 1931, repr. Aalen, 1962)
JÖB	Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik
MGH	Monumenta Germaniae Historica
Nov. Just.	Corpus Iuris Civilis, vol. 3: *Novellae*, eds. Rudolf Schoell and Guilelmus Kroll (Berlin, 1895, repr. 1972)
ODB	The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium
PG	Patrologia Graeca
PL	Patrologia Latina
PLP	Prosopographisches Lexikon der Palaiologenzeit
PmbZ	Prosopographie der mittelbyzantinischen Zeit
RÉB	Revue des Études Byzantines
SC	Sources Chrétiennes
TM	Travaux et Mémoires

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Part 1: **Theory and Historiography**

Despoina Ariantzi

At the Fringes of Byzantine Society: Prostitutes, Actors, and Tavernkeepers

All social groups create rules of behavior and are at pains to enforce them. Social rules define situations and forms of behavior appropriate to them by labeling individual acts "right" or "wrong." Behavior in accordance with these rules is considered conformist, whereas all behavioral patterns contravening the rules are non-conformist. Consequently, deviance is a construction of human society, the existence of which depends upon the reactions of other people.[1]

This volume is the result of an effort to explore phenomena of social marginalization and marginal groups in the context of a pre-modern society situated at the intersection between East and West and between Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages, namely Byzantium between the 4th and the 15th centuries, taking as examples three different, but functionally and spatially closely interrelated, types of outsider professions: female prostitutes,[2] actors, and tavernkeepers. Based on these specific groups, this volume attempts to establish a rough framework for further research and to answer a set of crucial questions lying at the heart of every sociohistorical exploration of the topic in question: How do Byzantine narrative and normative texts perceive prostitutes, actors, and tavernkeepers? What interactions did societies develop between their majority population, their political, moral, intellectual elites, on the one hand, and outsider groups, on the other? What typological features of outsider behavior can we observe? How might we define marginalization in Byzantium based on our historical sources, and what were its main mechanisms?

This book places particular emphasis on the possibilities of interdisciplinary approaches. It makes a case for continuities and changes in Byzantine social structures from their late antique substrate and wants to highlight the particularities of the Eastern Christian sphere in comparison to the Latin West. Most of the chapters herein were first presented at a conference held in May 2019 in Vienna on the subject "Marginalization and Subculture Groups: Prostitutes, Actors, and Tavernkeepers in Byzan-

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[1] For deviant behavior, see *Deviance: Anthropological Perspectives*, eds. Morris Freilich, Douglas Raybeck, and Joel Savishinsky (New York, 1991); Hans-Georg Beck, "Formes de non conformisme à Byzance," *Bulletin de la Classe des Lettres et des Sciences Morales et Politique,* Académie Royale de Belgique, série 5, 65 (1979): 313–329; Albert K. Cohen, *Abweichung und Kontrolle*, 3rd ed. (Munich, 1972); *Images of Deviance*, ed. Stanley Cohen (Harmondsworth, 1971); Edwin M. Lemert, *Human Deviance, Social Problems and Social Control* (London, 1967); John I. Kitsuse, "Societal Reaction to Deviant Behavior: Problems of Theory and Method," *Social Problems* 9/3 (1962): 247–256. For more literature on this topic, see below, n. 5 and 8.

[2] The topic of male prostitution deserves special study and remains mostly outside the scope of this volume.

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tium."[3] Other contributions were added later to enrich further the volume's thematic variety.

1 Methodology

The theories and terminological tools used in this volume are borrowed from the disciplines of sociology and social anthropology. They are based on the analytical concepts of "deviant behavior," "socially marginal groups," and "social marginalization," which were gradually introduced into other disciplines and research areas, including medieval studies.[4] It is a common practice in historical studies to use modern sociological terms and concepts to define and analyze the intricate structures of medieval society. In this way, we can better approach and understand the meaning of marginalization, the living conditions, the (self-)identities, the psychological state of marginal and outsider groups, and the social perceptions and attitudes towards outsiders in a pre-modern society like that of Byzantium. There are striking differences between medieval and modern societies, social structures, and forms of social perception. Nevertheless, the analysis of Byzantine sources reveals numerous phenomena of marginalization and socially marginalized groups that share many similarities with what we find in modern social contexts.

According to the well-known labeling theory developed during the 1960s and 1970s in social studies, deviance is not inherent in specific acts but results from the tendency of majorities to label minorities or people who are considered negatively deviant from cultural standards and norms. Hence, the labeling theory sees deviancy as an ascribed social construction.[5] Deviancy has to be understood as the result of some sort of interaction between the rule-breaker and the dominant social elite of a given community. The dominant elite defines certain forms of behavior as deviant and characterizes individuals who engage in such behavior as deviants. It treats them in a manner it considers appropriate by applying sanctions of increasing severity and by placing the individual in a marginal social status.[6] The term "socially marginalized groups" is here understood and employed in the context of the deviancy discourse as a socio-cultural analytical concept, defining the members of those social groups who play an inferior or marginal role in the power relations of society. Marginal and marginalized groups are usually considered synonymous with "rule-breakers," who, due to their deviance from prevailing cultural and religious-moral norms and values, are pushed to the margins by politically and socio-economically dominant groups and, therefore, appear as powerless actors.

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[3] The conference was organized by Despoina Ariantzi and Ewald Kislinger as part of the research project 'Marginalization and Subculture Groups: Prostitutes, Actors, and Tavernkeepers in Byzantium (Sixth–Twelfth Centuries)' (P 27865–G25). The project was funded by the Austrian Science Fund (FWF), directed by Ewald Kislinger, and hosted at the Department of Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies of the University of Vienna.

[4] Jacques Le Goff, "Les marginaux dans l'Occident médiéval," in *Les marginaux et les exclus dans l'histoire*, ed. Vincent Bernard (Paris, 1979), 19–28; Borislav Geremek, "Le marginal," in *L'homme médiéval*, ed. Jacques Le Goff (Paris, 1989), 381–413; Borislav Geremek, *The Margins of Society in Late Medieval Paris*, Past and Present Publications (Cambridge, 2009); Borislav Geremek, "L'image de l'autre: le marginal," in *XVI Congrès international des sciences historiques (Stuttgart, 25 Août–1 September 1985): Rapports*, Stuttgart: Le Comité International des Sciences Historiques 1 (1985): 67–81; *Aspects de la marginalité au Moyen Age*, eds. Guy-H. Allard, Bernard Chaput, Claude Gagnon, François-M. Gagnon, Jean Goulet, André Paradis, Bruno Roy, Raymond St. Jacques, and Claude Sutto (Montréal, 1975).

[5] Howard S. Becker, *Outsiders: Studies in the Sociology of Deviance*, 2nd ed. (New York, 1963, 2018); John Hagan, "Labelling and Deviance: A Case Study in the Sociology of the interesting," *Social Problems* 20 (1972–1973): 447–458; John I. Kitsuse and Malcolm Spector, "Social problems and deviance: some parallel issues," *Social Problems* 22 (1974–1976): 584–594; Eric Goode, "On behalf of labelling the-

2 State of the Field

Unlike scholars of ancient, late antique,[7] and medieval history,[8] to date Byzantinists have probed the questions posed in this volume only insufficiently. The topic of marginalization and marginal groups in Byzantium has never been examined comprehen-

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ory," *Social Problem* 22 (1974–1975): 570–583; Jack P. Gibbs, *Norms, Deviance and Social Control. Conceptual Matters* (New York, 1981).

[6] Cohen, *Images of Deviance*, 14; Geoffrey Miles White and John Kirkpatrick, eds., *Person, Self and Experience: Exploring Pacific Ethnopsychologies* (London, 1985), 16; Francis E. Merrill, *Society and Culture: An Introduction to Sociology*, 3rd ed. (Englewood Cliffs, NJ, 1965), 56.

[7] Hans Herter, "Die Soziologie der antiken Prostitution im Lichte des heidnischen und christlichen Schrifttums," *Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum* 3 (1960): 70–111; *Soziale Randgruppen und Außenseiter im Altertum: Referate vom Symposion „Soziale Randgruppen und antike Sozialpolitik" in Graz* (21.–23. September 1987), ed. Ingomar Weiler with the assistance of Herbert Graß (Graz, 1988); Dimitra Karampoula, "Symphonia und politike Asymphonia. Randgruppen im Rahmen der Gesellschaft der Spätantike," *BZ* 95/2 (2002): 481–508; Ruth Webb, *Demons and Dancers: Performance in Late Antiquity* (Cambridge, 2008).

[8] Le Goff, "Les marginaux," 19–28; Frans Irsigler and Arnold Lassotta, *Bettler und Gaukler, Dirnen und Henker* (Cologne, 1984); Geremek, "Le marginal," 381–413; Geremek, *The Margins of Society*; Borislav Geremek, "L'image de l'autre: le marginal," 67–81; Jeffrey Richards, *Sex, Dissidence and Damnation: Minority Groups in the Middle Ages* (London, 1990); *Randgruppen der spätmittelalterlichen Gesellschaft: Ein Hand- und Studienbuch*, ed. Bernd Ulrich Hergemöller, 2nd ed. (Warendorf, 1994); *Matrons and Marginal Women in Medieval Society*, eds. Robert Edwards and Vickie L. Ziegler (Woodbridge, 1995); Frank Rexroth, *Das Milieu der Nacht: Obrigkeit und Randgruppen im spätmittelalterlichen London*, Veröffentlichungen des Max-Planck-Instituts für Geschichte 153 (Göttingen, 1999); František Graus, "Randgruppen der städtischen Gesellschaft im Spätmittelalter," *Zeitschrift für Historische Forschung* 8 (1981): 385–437; František Graus, "Randgruppen der städtischen Gesellschaft im Mittelalter," in *Ausgewählte Aufsätze von František Graus, Vorträge und Forschungen* 55 (2002): 303–350; Frank Meier, *Gaukler, Dirnen, Rattenfänger: Außenseiter im Mittelalter* (Ostfildern, 2005).

sively. Our knowledge mainly relies on studies on the more general phenomenon of the outsider, the stranger, or the other in Byzantine society. The first, and in many respects only, extensive discussion of outsider groups thus far can be found in Phaidon' multi-volume compendium on Byzantine daily life,[9] which, though rich in material, is largely outdated concerning its theoretical presuppositions and methodological approach. It deals with a broad range of aspects regarding attitudes towards prostitutes, actors, tavernkeepers, magicians, and homosexuals but fails to evaluate the sources according to modern criteria of source criticism and mixes folkloric and historical elements of different periods and contexts.

A more systematic discussion of conceptions and literary perceptions of the Byzantine outsider began in the 1970s. The initial goal was to elucidate the question as to who the Byzantine outsiders were. To this day, there is a general tendency to give very broad definitions encompassing every kind of commonly not-accepted otherness, including foreigners,[10] political and religious dissenters,[11] and social non-conformists.[12]

Dion S. Smythe was the first to combine systematically the discourse on Byzantine outsiders with the conceptual framework provided by modern sociological theories. His unpublished PhD thesis (1992) examined Byzantine attitudes towards outsiders in the 11th- and 12th-century historiographical texts of Michael Psellos, Anna Komnene, and Niketas Choniates, thereby defining four categories of outsiders on the grounds of gender, religion, race, and class (*taxis*).[13] Smythe mainly drew on theories of deviancy, especially the so-called labellist perspective, and thus described the characteristics of the four categories he defined through a matrix consisting of elements of deviating behavior. The notion of outsider thus gained a comprehensive meaning, basically encompassing all those who reveal deviant behavioral patterns in one way or another. A long-term goal of his inquiry remained a better understanding of the relationship between insiders and outsiders in Byzantine society.

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[9] Phaidon Koukoules, *Βυζαντινῶν Βίος καὶ Πολιτισμός*, 6 vols., Collection de l' Institut Français d' Athènes 73 (Athens, 1948–1955), 2:117–162.

[10] Robert S. Lopez, “Foreigners in Byzantium,” in *Bulletin de l’Institut Historique Belge de Rome* 44 [=*Miscellanea Charles Verlinden*] (Brussels, 1974): 341–352, repr. in *Byzantium and the World Around it: Economic and Institutional Relations* (London, 1978), no. 14; Angeliki Laiou, “The Foreigner and the Stranger in 12th century Byzantium: Means of Propitiation and Acculturation,” in *Fremde der Gesellschaft: Historische und sozialwissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zur Differenzierung von Normalität und Devianz*, ed. Marie-Theres Fögen, Studien zur europäischen Rechtsgeschichte 56 (Frankfurt am Main, 1991), 71–97.

[11] Évelyne Patlagean, “Byzance, le barbare, l’hérétique et la loi universelle,” in *Ni Juifs ni Grecs. Entretiens sur le racisme, sous la direction de Léon Poliakov* (Paris, 1978), 81–90, repr. in *Structure sociale, famille, chrétienté à Byzance* (London, 1981), no. 15.

[12] Beck, “Formes de non-conformisme à Byzance,” 313–329.

[13] Dion C. Smythe, *Byzantine Perceptions of the Outsider in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries: A Method*, PhD Thesis (St. Andrews, 1992).

An article by Dion Smythe dealt with women as outsiders, combining sociological definitions of outsiders with the feminist definition of gender.[14] Based on Anna Komnene's *Alexias*, Smythe tried to show that Byzantine women could be regarded as outsiders because gender, along with race, class, and religion, is one of the criteria used to distinguish between the self and the other. Another important aspect is subjective awareness or self-awareness as a member of a minority group. Smythe's recent study on "Insiders and Outsiders" (2010) summarizes the results of his previous research and concentrates on women while also examining the Varangian guard as an example of ethnic outsiders.[15] Taken together, Smythe's thought-provoking work, which focuses on 11th- and 12th-century narrative sources and ruling elites in Byzantium, is doubtless of great value for all future attempts in this field because of the interdisciplinary trajectory he has opened by analyzing Byzantine marginal groups based on theories and concepts borrowed from sociology, social anthropology, and gender studies.

In the framework of these broad definitions, during the 1990s the Byzantine outsider with the concept's manifold nuances and ramifications formed a popular topic for conferences. The proceedings of an international symposium held in Athens (1993) dealt with various groups of socially, ethnically, religiously, or ideologically marginalized people, such as idolaters, heretics, blacks, fools, Jews, invalids, homosexuals, and magicians.[16] The resulting volume attempted to outline the social and conceptual context of these groups and to show the potential of a critical analysis of the available source material. Still, it failed to define a theoretical framework regarding the origin, use, and interpretation of the Byzantine terminology for "outsiders" and the accompanying social attitudes in the context of a medieval Mediterranean society.

More specialized topics of deviance and marginalization were discussed in two volumes of conference proceedings (1990, 1994) devoted to religious deviance and related legal issues. These focused on Byzantine canon law and theological responses to religious deviance in the Latin and Eastern traditions.[17] The proceedings of another conference on "Fremde der Gesellschaft" (1991) gathered historical and sociological studies on differentiations between normality and strangeness from an interdisciplinary perspective.[18] An interesting volume entitled "Strangers to Themselves: The Byzantine Outsider" (2000) resulted from a Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies held at the University of Sussex in 1998 and comprised nineteen articles covering a broad range of approaches from history, theology, literature, and art history.[19] The symposium aimed to treat the phenomenon of "outsiders" and ideas of "outsiderness" in light of thematically broader and methodologically current approaches, thus provoking further debates on the subject. The notions of the outsider and the other were explored with the help of a great variety of concepts, such as minorities and marginalization, identity and community, conformity, dissidence and deviance, conversion and assimilation, bordering of ethnicity, gender, heterodoxy and taxis, and social exclusion. In addition, attempts were made to position the Byzantine outsider within a broad range of polarities like capital and province, center and margin, norm and divergence, legal and illegal, heresy and orthodoxy, the settled and the nomad, city and desert, and literacy and illiteracy.

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[14] Dion C. Smythe, "Women as Outsider," in *Women, Men and Eunuchs. Gender in Byzantium*, ed. Liz James (London, 1997), 149–167.

[15] Dion C. Smythe, "Insiders and Outsiders," in *A Companion to Byzantium*, ed. Liz James (Chichester, 2010), 67–80.

[16] *Οι περιθωριακοί στο Βυζάντιο*, ed. Chrysa Maltezou (Athens, 1993).

[17] *Religiöse Devianz: Untersuchungen zu sozialen, rechtlichen und theologischen Reaktionen auf religiöse Abweichung im westlichen und östlichen Mittelalter*, ed. Dieter Simon, Studien zur Europäischen Rechtsgeschichte 48 (Frankfurt am Main, 1990); *Identité et droit de l'autre*, ed. Laurent Mayali (Berkeley, 1994).

[18] *Fremde der Gesellschaft: Historische und sozialwissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zur Differenzierung von Normalität und Devianz*, ed. Marie-Theres Fögen (Frankfurt am Main, 1991).

Overall, the aforementioned studies and conference proceedings offer valuable insights for conceptualizing the Byzantine outsider broadly and evidence numerous possibilities for combining Byzantine social phenomena with modern sociological theories. Still, they did not attempt to cover the diachronic development of perceptions, social functions, and positions of specific marginal groups in certain sections of Byzantine society. In this respect, the existing bibliography is relatively meager and presents considerable gaps.

The marginal groups forming part of the present volume have been treated in only a few studies, several of which remain unpublished, with diverging perspectives and chronological foci: Stavroula Leontsini's published PhD thesis (1989) on prostitution explored terminological issues, places of professional practice, the everyday life and work of prostitutes, as well as material and social aspects of the early Byzantine period.[20] Avshalom Laniado published an article (2018) on imperial legislation regarding prostitution from the 4th to the 12th century.[21] And Gary Leiser wrote a monograph (2019) on sex work and prostitution in the Eastern Mediterranean with a particular focus on the Muslim heartlands and Anatolia.[22] An article by Harry J. Magoulias (1971) analyzed tavern- and innkeepers and prostitutes as socially marginalized outsiders, mainly based on hagiographical sources of the 6th and 7th centuries.[23] Ewald Kislinger's unpublished PhD thesis (1982) on hostelry and accommodation dealt in a rather positivistic manner with different types of inns, taverns, and lodging houses and the people associated with these establishments.[24] Spyros N. Troianos explored the issue of taverns and crimes in early Byzantine law (2010).[25] Apostolos Karpozilos examined Byzantine attitudes towards tavern- and innkeepers in letters of the Palaiologan period (2011).[26]

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[19] *Strangers to Themselves: The Byzantine Outsider. Papers from the Thirty-second Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies*, ed. Dion C. Smythe, University of Sussex, Brighton, March 1998, Society for the Promotion of Byzantine Studies 8 (Aldershot, 2000).

[20] Stavroula Leontsini, *Die Prostitution im frühen Byzanz*, Dissertationen der Universität Wien 194 (Vienna, 1989).

[21] Avshalom Laniado, "L'empereur, la prostitution et le proxénétisme: Droit romain et morale chrétienne à Byzance," in *Le prince chrétien de Constantin aux royautés barbares (IVe–VIIIe siècle),* eds. Sylvain Destephen, Bruno Dumézil, and Hervé Inglebert, *TM* 22/2 (2018): 49–97.

[22] Gary Leiser, *Prostitution in the Eastern Mediterranean World: The Economics of Sex in the Late Antique and Medieval Middle East* (London, 2019).

Other studies have dealt with social attitudes towards actors in Byzantium. Franz Tinnefeld was mainly interested in the social position of the Byzantine *mimos* (1974). More specifically, he tackled the question of whether and in what respect the *mimos* was part of a subculture and what motives led the Greek Orthodox Church to condemn the *mimos* and *pantomimos* and thus banish them to the social underground.[27] From the viewpoint of theater studies, Walter Puchner explored the history of the Byzantine theater and *mimos* in the mirror of Greek patristic texts and synodical decisions made by the Greek Church.[28] A monograph by Ruth Webb is dedicated to the microcosm of the late antique *mimos* in and against society (2008), but except for some brief glances, it does not reach beyond the 6th century.[29] Most recently, Przemyslaw Marciniak has dealt with the Byzantine theater and the performative turn and has explored pertinent terminological issues (2014, 2017).[30]

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23 Harry J. Magoulias, "Bathhouse, Inn, Tavern, Prostitution and the Stage as seen in the Lives of the Saints of the Sixth and Seventh Centuries," *EEBS* 38 (1971): 233–252.

24 Ewald Kislinger, *Gastgewerbe und Beherbergung in frühbyzantinischer Zeit: Eine realienkundliche Studie aufgrund hagiographischer und historiographischer Quellen*, PhD Thesis (Vienna, 1982).

25 Spyros Troianos, "Καπηλεία και εγκληματικότητα στον κόσμο του Βυζαντίου," in *Essays in Honor of Professor C. D. Spinellis*, ed. Maria Galanou (Athens, 2010), 1285–1300.

26 Apostolos Karpozilos, "Περὶ τῶν περιπατούντων εἰς καπηλεῖα καὶ καταγώγια," *Hellenika* 61/1 (2011): 33–46. In the past ten years, there has been growing interest in research on tavernkeepers in the medieval West. See, for instance, John Hare, "Inns, innkeepers and the society of later medieval England, 1350–1600," *Journal of Medieval History* 39/4 (2013): 477–497.

27 Franz Tinnefeld, "Zum profanen Mimos in Byzanz nach dem Verdikt des Trullanums (691)," *Byzantina* 6 (1974): 323–343.

28 Walter Puchner, "Byzantinischer Mimos, Pantomimos und Mummenschanz im Spiegel der griechischen Patristik und ekklesiastischer Synodalverordnungen. Quellen Anmerkungen aus theaterwissenschaftlicher Sicht," *Maske und Kothurn* 20 (1983): 311–317; Walter Puchner with the assistance of Andrew Walker White, *Greek Theatre between Antiquity and Independence: A History of Reinvention from the Third Century BC to 1830* (Cambridge, 2017), in which see for Byzantium 52–111.

29 Webb, *Demons and Dancers: Performance in Late Antiquity* (Cambridge, 2008).

30 Przemysław Marciniak, "How to entertain the Byzantines? Mimes and jesters in Byzantium," in *Medieval and Early Modern Performance in the Eastern Mediterranean*, eds. Evelyn Vitz and Arzu Öztürkmen (Turnhout, 2014), 125–149; Przemysław Marciniak, "The Byzantine Performative Turn," in *Within the Circle of Ancient Ideas and Virtues. Studies in Honour of Professor Maria Dzielska*, eds. Kamilla Twardowska et al. (Krakow, 2014), 423–430; Przemysław Marciniak, "Laughter on Display: Mimic Performances and the Danger of Laughing in Byzantium," in *Greek Laughter and Tears. Antiquity and After*, eds. Margaret Alexiou and Douglas Cairns (Edinburgh, 2017), 232–242.

These studies constitute a valuable point of departure for the present volume, providing a first analysis of tavernkeepers, prostitutes, and actors as socially marginalized outsiders mainly based on hagiographical and historiographical sources. However, they are mostly confined to the early Byzantine period and make limited attempts to place the data of Byzantine sources into a broader socio-historical and interdisciplinary context. While there is a substantial amount of scholarly debate on these groups more broadly, historians have paid less attention to the question of their disadvantaged position in society, the meaning of their marginalization, and the mechanisms by which marginal identities were created, expressed, or rewritten over time by Byzantine authors in the various types of sources. The editor of this volume has addressed some of these items in a recent study (2021) dealing with forms of social marginalization and the reintegration of Byzantine prostitutes as documented in saints' lives and other narrative sources written between the 5th and the 12th centuries.[31]

3 Problems in Researching Marginal Groups

One of the critical challenges that scholars face is the nature of the available source material. Some archaeological finds have been relevant to the questions at hand. For instance, taverns from the 6th century and the middle or late Byzantine period respectively have been identified in Sagalassos (Ağlasun) in Southwest Turkey and in Corinth. However, this kind of material evidence is rather scarce. The same applies to pictorial representations in Byzantine art. Therefore, our analysis is to a large extent based on written sources, both normative, such as texts of secular and canon law or theological treatises, and narrative, such as saints' lives and chronicles. In all subunits of the present volume, we emphasize source-critical issues, such as the time and place of a text's composition, an author's social position and worldview, literary conventions, narrative techniques, and forms of perception and literary representation. A crucial working principle is that we need to clarify what parameters determined the literary presentation and perception of the three marginalized groups in these texts and to what degree we can draw verifiable conclusions regarding the social reality of outsider groups in Byzantium.

One of the significant problems of source criticism results from the fact that all available texts are written from the perspective of socially, politically, and intellectually dominant groups and thus tend to represent exclusively their norms and values.

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[31] Despoina Ariantzi, "Byzantinische Prostituierte: Zwischen Marginalisierung und Reintegration in die Gesellschaft," *Byz* 91 (2021): 1–45. For Roman antiquity, see Thomas McGinn, "Roman Prostitutes and Marginalization," in *The Oxford Handbook of Social Relations in the Roman World* (Oxford, 2015), 643–659.

Inevitably, their descriptions, presentations, and statements reflect the image of social elites and are confined to a specific discursive framework consisting of moral condemnation, appeals, and, occasionally, ideas of compassion and repentance. The marginal groups in question are usually presented as impure, immoral, filthy, sinful, the embodiment of evil, and the personification of sin. People are admonished to stay away from them. The only permissible way to approach them is through the Christian ideal of showing compassion. For instance, people may take pity on prostitutes and actresses who, due to adverse circumstances, were forced to engage in these activities. Hence, there exists an unbridgeable gap between these two opposite sides of society. Opinions and reactions of marginalized individuals are never articulated, not only because they left no written statements but also because prostitutes, actors, and tavernkeepers never take center stage in Byzantine literature. Authors would rarely make them the protagonists of their narratives, but refer to them only in passing and as an aside. There are descriptions of main characters chancing upon a prostitute in the market, the streets, the harbor, the brothel, or the tavern, but the focus is always on the reactions of the decent and the decorous.[32] The social outsider usually remains anonymous and is rebuked for his provocative outward appearance and immoral behavior, but no further details are given. The only exception is a subgenre of early Byzantine hagiography that treats a specific kind of holiness, i.e. that of "the holy harlot" or "repentant prostitute."[33] Some biographies of former prostitutes, such as Pansemne,[34] and of actresses, such as Porphyria[35] and Pelagia,[36] were modeled after the first penitent saint, Mary of Egypt.[37] In this case, too, however, the focus is not on marginalization but on monastic ideals and the idea that even the most sinful and morally corrupt person, such as a prostitute, can adopt the principles of monastic life through repentance and forgiveness.

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[32] Ariantzi, "Byzantinische Prostituierte," 6.

[33] Patricia Cox Miller, "*Is There a Harlot in this Text?: Hagiography and the Grotes*que," in *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 33/3 (2003): 419–435; Virginia Burrus, *The Sex Lives of Saints: An Erotics of Ancient Hagiography* (Philadelphia, 2004), ch. 4; Stavroula Constantinou, *Female Corporeal Performances: Reading the Body in Byzantine Passions and Lives of Holy Women*, Studia Byzantina Upsaliensia 9 (Uppsala, 2005), ch. 2; and Christopher M. Flavin, *Constructions of Feminine Identity in the Catholic Tradition: Inventing Women* (Lanham, MD, 2020), 32–37.

[34] *Life of Theophanes and Pansemne*, ed. E. de Stoop, "La vie de Theophane et de Pansemne," *Le musée belge: revue de philologie classique* 15 (1911): 313–329. For Pansemne, see Ariantzi, "Byzantinische Prostituierte," 21–22, 26, 28, 37, 40–41, 44.

[35] *Life of Porphyria*, ch. 50, in *Leontios de Néapolis: Vie de Syméon le fou et Vie de Jean de Chypre*, eds. André-Jean Festugière and Lennart Rydén (Paris, 1974). For Porphyria, see Ariantzi, "Byzantinische Prostituierte," 25–28, 30.

[36] *Life of Pelagia*, ed. Bernard Flusin, "Les textes grecs," in *Pélagie la Pénitente. Métamorphoses d'une légende. Tome I. Les textes et leur histoire*, ed. Pierre Petitmengin et al. (Paris, 1981), 39–131. For Pelagia, see Ariantzi, "Byzantinische Prostituierte," 10–11; 27, 36.

[37] *Life of Mary of Egypt*, in *PG* 87/3, 3697–3725 and trans. Maria Kouli, "Life of St. Mary of Egypt," in *Holy Women of Byzantium: Ten Saints' Lives in English Translation*, ed. Alice-Mary Talbot (Washington, D.C., 1996), 65–93. Cf. Anne Marie Sargent, *The Penitent Prostitute: The Tradition and Evolution of the Life of St. Mary the Egyptian*, PhD Thesis (Ann Arbor, 1977).

Another problem concerns the modern terminological distinction between "normal and decent people" and "marginal groups." Byzantine authors do not make such differentiations, so modern scholars must find criteria enabling them to establish categories coming close to modern notions. This can be achieved through recurring characteristics and behavioral patterns that appear in the Byzantine sources concerning the three groups in question. Their analysis allows us to garner information about the terminology, social stereotypes, clichés, and prejudices articulated in the narrative presentations of these groups. These features partly reflect the perception of contemporary social realities and partly accrue from ideas and literary conventions rooted in the Christian patristic tradition or late antique rhetoric. It is frequently impossible, however, to draw a clear distinction between actual experience and literary convention.

In sum, all texts referring to marginal groups determine deviating unacceptable behavior based on a broad range of social, legal, and Christian moral norms. The authors identify with these norms and describe their protagonists as always consistent with these principles while using specific narrative tools to present marginalized people. At first, they characterize them and their world with a wide range of derogatory and morally charged terms. Secondly, they juxtapose their protagonists against them as representatives of the dominant order to which they are called to return. The author frequently assumes this role by addressing his audience in a personal statement. Thirdly, in specific hagiographical texts, the authors present a sinner's remorse through self-statements expressing their preparedness to repent and recant his former way of life.[38]

4 Views, Social Norms, and Legal Concepts

The three marginal groups examined in this volume are a typical and indispensable part of the social fabric in urban environments. They are, in many respects, closely interrelated. Ewald Kislinger aptly called prostitutes, actors, and tavernkeepers an "unholy triad."[39] Byzantine texts describe female prostitutes (πόρνη, δημοσία πόρνη, δημοσία, πάνδημος γυνή, προϊσταμένη, πεπορνευμένη, ἑταίρα, πεζὴ ἑταίρα, ἑταιρίς, θυμελική, μιμάς, etc.),[40] quite similarly to our modern perceptions, as unmarried or married women who offered sexual services to secure their livelihood or to earn money in the easiest and quickest way possible.[41] The terms μιμάς and θυμελική indicate conceptual and semantic proximity between actresses and prostitutes, as both terms literally mean stage actresses but are usually used as synonyms for prostitutes in hagiographic texts.[42] There is a distinction between voluntary and forced prostitution: the sources provide examples of women who chose to pursue this profession out of sexual desire[43] or because they lived in poverty and were deprived of the protection of their parents.[44] Other accounts speak of women who were forced by relatives in urgent need of money.[45] There were laws protecting women against prostitution and punishing the perpetrators.[46] The spatial settings in which prostitutes pursued their profession were brothels, taverns, and streets in ports, cities, and pilgrimage sites.[47] As a hub of trade and commerce with a vast population, Constantinople had an exceptionally high demand for women offering such services.[48]

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[38] Ariantzi, "Byzantinische Prostituierte," 7.

[39] See the chapter by Ewald Kislinger and Despoina Ariantzi in this volume, 215.

[40] For the terminology, see Leontsini, *Prostitution*, 22–41. Cf. Thomas McGinn, "The Legal Definition of Prostitute in Late Antiquity," *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome* 42 (1997): 73–116.

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[41] For Prostitution in Antiquity and Byzantium, see for instance Paul Dufour, *Geschichte der Prostitution*, 3 vols. (Berlin, 1901), trans. P. Lacroix [Pseudonym of P. Dafour], *Histoire de la Prostitution* (Bruxelles, 1851–1854); Iwan Bloch, *Die Prostitution*, vol. 1, Handbuch der gesamten Sexualwissenschaft in Einzeldarstellungen (Berlin, 1912); Koukoules, *Βυζαντινῶν Βίος καὶ Πολιτισμός*, 2:117–162; Herter, "Die Soziologie der antiken Prostitution," 70–111; Lujo Bassermann (Pseudonym for H. Schreiber), *Das älteste Gewerbe. Eine Kulturgeschichte* (Vienna, 1965); Ewald Kislinger, *Prostitution/Byzanz*, in *Lexikon des Mittelalters* 7:267–269; Johannes Irmscher, "Η πορνεία στο Βυζάντιο," in *Πρακτικά του Α΄ διεθνούς συμποσίου «Η καθημερινή ζωή στο Βυζάντιο. Τομές και συνέχειες στην ελληνιστική και ρωμαϊκή παράδοση»*, ed. Christina Angelidi (Athens, 1989), 253–258; Leontsini, *Prostitution*; Claudine Dauphin, "Brothels, Baths and Babes. Prostitution in the Byzantine Holy Land," *Classics Ireland* 3 (1996): 47–72; Ruth Mazo Karras, "Holy Harlots: Prostitute Saints in Medieval Legend," *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 1 (1990): 3–32; Thomas McGinn, *The Economy of Prostitution in the Roman World: A Study of Social History and Brothels* (Ann Arbor, 2004); Thomas McGinn, "Definition of Prostitute in Late Antiquity," 73–116; Laniado, "Prostitution," 49–97; Leiser, *Prostitution*, 1–47; Ariantzi, "Byzantinische Prostituierte," 3.

[42] Ariantzi, "Byzantinische Prostituierte," 3; Leontsini, *Prostitution*, 28. See also Cornelia Horn, "Women, Prostitution, and Violence in the Syriac Martyrdom of the Mimes," in *Syrien im 1.–7. Jahrhundert nach Christus: Akten der 1. Tübinger Tagung zum Christlichen Orient (15.–16. Juni 2007*), eds. Dmitrij F. Bumazhnov and Hans Reinhard Seeliger, Studien und Texte zu Antike und Christentum, 62 (Tübingen, 2011), 111–143; Catherine Edwards, "Unspeakable Professions. Public Performance and Prostitution in Rome," in *Roman Sexualities*, eds. Judith P. Hallet and Marilyn B. Skinner (Princeton, 1997), 66–95.

[43] For prostitution and sexuality, see Ruth Mazo Karras, "Prostitution and the Question of Sexual Identity in Medieval Europe," *Journal of Women's History* 11.2 (1999): 159–177; Thomas McGinn, *Prostitution, Sexuality, and the Law in Ancient Rome* (Oxford, 1998).

[44] Ariantzi, "Byzantinische Prostituierte," 3; Leontsini, *Prostitution*, 74–80.

[45] Some fathers were forced to enter into contracts with pimps. For such a contract, see Johannes Diethart and Ewald Kislinger, "Papyrologisches zur Prostitution im byzantinischen Ägypten," *JÖB* 41 (1991): 15–23, at 20 (P. Vindob. G 40796).

[46] Ariantzi, "Byzantinische Prostituierte," 3; Leontsini, *Prostitution*, 176–178; Herter, "Die Soziologie der antiken Prostitution," 74–75.

[47] Ariantzi, "Byzantinische Prostituierte," 3–4.

[48] Ariantzi, "Byzantinische Prostituierte," 4; Leontsini, *Prostitution*, 63–64.

Prostitution was intricately linked with the sphere of actors and showmen. The word θέατρον in Byzantium had nothing to do with the literary and historical development of the ancient theater and came to mean all kinds of popular spectacles, frequently of obscene and morally reproachable character. Terms like μίμος, παντομίμος, σκηνικός, and θυμελικός not only referred to spectacles for the ordinary people but also included showmen in traditional costume and street singers.[49] Such performers entertained their audiences in taverns, during the intermissions of chariot or horse races in the Hippodrome, or as jesters at the imperial court.[50]

Although *mimoi* enjoyed quite a respectable position in the context of the games and races of the Hippodrome in the early Byzantine period, Canon 41 of the Quinisext Council in Trullo (691/2) explicitly prohibited their performances and threatened the participants with excommunication.[51] The main argument for the Church's negative attitude towards them rested upon the reprehensible moral standards of actors and their performances. Their obscene gestures and songs were considered dangerous stimuli, polluting the audience's imagination and seducing people to imitate them. Especially seductive were actresses, which explains why they were frequently equated with prostitutes.[52] Ecclesiastical representatives especially rebuked their parodies of Christian rites and worship practices, thus characterizing actors as useless dawdlers and idlers.[53]

Since antiquity, tavernkeepers (κάπηλος, ταβερνάριος, φουσκάριος),[54] among other services, had been offering prostitutes to their customers. Thus, their activities and spatial environment were closely related to brothels and love for sale. For this reason, the Church traditionally held a very critical stance towards taverns and the people operating them. At the same time, secular law, such as Novel 133 of Emperor Justinian,[55] and canon law prohibited monks and women from entering establishments of this kind.[56] Accordingly, tavernkeepers are customarily described as cruel people prone to crime.[57]

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[49] For the terminology, see Marciniak, "How to Entertain the Byzantines," 129.

[50] Tinnefeld, "Zum profanen Mimos in Byzanz," 337–338; Marciniak, "Performative Turn," 428–430; Puchner, "Byzantinischer Mimos," 313.

[51] Tinnefeld, "Zum profanen Mimos in Byzanz," 128–129; Puchner, "Byzantinischer Mimos," 312–313; Marciniak, "How to Entertain the Byzantines," 130–131.

[52] Herter, "Soziologie der antiken Prostitution," 97–106; Magoulias, "Bathhouse," 246–252; Hans Georg Beck, *Byzantinisches Erotikon* (Munich, 1986), 71–82; Leontsini, *Prostitution*, 118–137.

[53] Tinnefeld, "Zum profanen Mimos in Byzanz," 136–143. Georgios J. Theocharidis, *Beiträge zur Geschichte des byzantinischen Profantheaters im IV. und V. Jahrhundert, hauptsächlich auf Grund der Predigten des Johannes Chrysostomos, Patriarchen von Konstantinopel* (Thessaloniki, 1940), Part 2: Mimus, 67–121, at 94. See also the essay of Przemysław Marciniak in this volume.

[54] Kislinger, *Gastgewerbe*, 44–45.

[55] *Just.* Nov. 133.6, in *Corpus Iuris Civilis*, vol. 3: *Novellae*, eds. Rudolf Schoell and Wilhelm Kroll (Berlin, 1895, repr. 1972). Kislinger, *Gastgewerbe*, 132–139.

Hence, we are dealing with three professional groups that belong to a shared spatial setting and social milieu situated at the intersection between a commonly accepted sphere of respectable citizens and their social norms, on the one hand, and a marginalized underground associated with illicitness, immorality, and voluptuousness, on the other. Their activities were tolerated to a certain degree as a significant part of the entertainment services offered to the population on numerous occasions in larger settlements and urban centers. Visiting brothels, taverns, inns, and fairs (*panegyreis*),[58] although criticized and restricted by secular and ecclesiastical law, was obviously a prevalent form of entertainment and fulfilled the basic desires of a large section of the population.[59] Nevertheless, people from these groups always conflicted with Christian ideals and moral concepts. The political, religious, and intellectual spokesmen representing the prevalent societal value system sharply distanced themselves from them in their official statements, regarding them as outsiders or outcasts banned to the fringes of society. Thus, they were scorned and disdained and faced various forms of oppression from the majority, though human nature would not allow society to function without their services. As a result, all forms of interaction between "normal" people and marginal groups were inevitably marred by a high degree of ambiguity.[60]

Again, marginalization can be defined as an intricate social process in which certain population groups deviating from predominant norms and values in their habits, behaviors, and beliefs are pushed to the fringes of a given society and thus remain largely excluded from its political, economic, and cultural activities. As a result, the great majority of society, with its religious, moral, and political representatives, considers them second-class citizens of inferior standing and dubious reputation.[61]

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[56] Monks were forbidden by ecclesiastical law to visit inns because they offered wine and prostitutes, which could tempt them. Only when traveling or in case of an emergency were they permitted to stay overnight in an inn. See Canon 54 of Saint Apostel and the commentary of Zonaras, Balsamon, and Aristenos in *Σύνταγμα τῶν θείων καὶ ἱερῶν κανόνων τῶν τε ἁγίων καὶ πανευφήμων Ἀποστόλων καὶ τῶν ἱερῶν οἰκουμενικῶν καὶ τοπικῶν συνόδων*, eds. Georgios Rhalles and Michael Potles 6 vols. (Athens, 1852–1856), 2:71–72: Εἴ τις κληρικὸς ἐν καπηλείῳ φωραθείη ἐσθίων, ἀφοριζέσθω· πάρεξ τοῦ ἐν πανδοχείῳ ἐν ὁδῷ δι' ἀνάγκην καταλύοντος. Also, Canon 24 of Council of Laodicea, in *Discipline générale antique (IIe–IXe)*, vol. 1/2: *Les Canons des Synodes Particuliers*, ed. Perikles-Pierre Ioannou (Grottaferrata, 1962), 140; Canon 22 of the second Council of Nicaea, in *Discipline Générale Antique (IIe–IXe)*, vol. 1/1: *Les canons des conciles oecuméniques (IIe–IXe)*, ed. Perikles-Pierre Ioannou (Grottaferrata, 1962), 282–285. See also Ariantzi, "Byzantinische Prostituierte," 3; Kislinger, *Gastgewerbe*, 132–139; Magoulias, "Bathhouse," 241, and the essay by Ewald Kislinger and Despoina Ariantzi in this volume, 222 and n. 50.

[57] Kislinger, *Gastgewerbe*, 151–152; Troianos, "Καπηλεία και εγκληματικότητα," 1285–1300; Karpozilos, "Καπηλεῖα," 33–46.

[58] Angeliki E. Laiou, "Händler und Kaufleute auf dem Jahrmarkt," in *Fest und Alltag in Byzanz*, eds. Günter Prinzing and Dieter Simon (Munich, 1990), 53–70.

[59] Kislinger, *Gastgewerbe*, 156–158.

[60] Ariantzi, "Byzantinische Prostituierte," 44; Kislinger, *Gastgewerbe*, 156–158.

We can distinguish between two different stages or levels in this process of marginalization in Byzantium and other societies. The first is related to official attitudes expressed in judgments and regulations issued by state or ecclesiastical authorities, i.e., the two chief pillars on which the administrative apparatus and the cultural and political cohesion of Byzantine society are based. The second results from social conventions and behavioral patterns prevailing among "normal" people and from the way the latter position themselves vis-à-vis outsider groups. Comprehending these factors enables us to determine the tools Byzantine society had at its disposal to implement social norms and isolate various categories of marginal groups at an official and informal level.[62]

Law and legislation constitute a pivotal reflection of a society's social ethics and they codify the legal and social position of groups and individuals. Several crucial questions need to be addressed in this context: How and to what extent did legal provisions in Byzantium regulate certain professional activities and the social standing of groups and individuals and thus contribute to their potential marginalization? In what way did legal provisions control and restrain the participation of marginalized people in matters of public life? Did they or their relatives have the right to testify as witnesses in lawsuits or hold public offices? Did the legal system apply the same protection rules and penal provisions to them as to other, non-stigmatized citizens? For instance, there were secular laws prohibiting procuration and protecting dependent persons from forced prostitution. Ecclesiastical laws provided for specific penalties regarding prostitutes, such as a four–year excommunication in conjunction with four-step penitential exercises.[63] State and Church authorities thus erected barriers between "normal" and morally reprehensible people while also recommending their gradual reintegration through expiatory practices. These examples also show that secular and canon law were equally crucial for the formation of commonly accepted moral standards regarding the exclusion and/or inclusion of certain groups. Regarding social practices and moral concepts in everyday life, the Church, due to its daily presence in society, had ample opportunity to enforce its rules and shape what nowadays would be called public opinion.[64]

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[61] Ariantzi, "Byzantinische Prostituierte," 1–2. For the various meanings of marginalization and marginality from economic, political, geographical, social, and other viewpoints, see Stanko Pelc, "Marginality and Marginalization," in *Societies, Social Inequalities and Marginalization*, eds. Raghubir Chand, Etienne Nel, and Stanko Pelc (Springer, 2017), 13–28, esp. 14–16.

[62] Ariantzi, "Byzantinische Prostituierte," 6–7.

[63] Canon 4 of Gregory of Nyssa, in *Discipline Générale Antique (IVe–IXe)*, vol 2: *Les canons des Pères Grecs*, ed. Perikles-Pierre Ioannou (Grottaferrata, 1962), p. 213, lines 17–21 and Canon 22 of Basil of Caesarea, p. 125. Ariantzi, "Byzantinische Prostituierte," 36.

[64] Ariantzi, "Byzantinische Prostituierte," 36; for tavernkeepers see, Kislinger, *Gastgewerbe*, 152.

Regarding marginalization mechanisms in everyday life, it is expedient to shift the focus from normative to narrative sources referring to the attitudes and reactions of “normal” people towards the three marginal groups in question. According to the views and attitudes propagated by state and ecclesiastical authorities, the available texts underline the existence of clearly recognizable social and spatial divides between people abiding by accepted norms and outsiders while also highlighting the conceptual separation between the spheres of the pure and the impure.[65] In terms of space, outsider groups were topographically concentrated in “impure” areas and quarters, which were regarded as places and sites of vice and ill repute and were closely linked to morally suspect and even criminal individuals. We find these people primarily outside the city walls, near marketplaces and the Hippodrome, and in ports.[66] However, the Byzantine imperial legislation made no systematic effort to remove them from specific geographic areas.[67]

Marginalization did not mean the complete exclusion of social groups or individuals from economic, political, or cultural activities. Under certain circumstances, such as public festivities and amusement events, prostitutes, actors, and tavern- and innkeepers constituted a functional component of medieval societies. They were a part of the normality and social reality of everyday life. Despite the mechanisms society employed at times to keep outsiders away from its core areas, the sources also illustrate other aspects of Byzantine social reality, i.e., forms of interaction between “normal” people and marginal groups.[68] At times, these contacts could be conceived of as a dynamic force contributing to societal developments and changes. For instance, during insurgencies and in times of turmoil, outsiders could become involved in political activities or serve as channels of communication between the social elite and lower strata. A case in point is the well-known episode of the violent execution of Stephen the Younger,[69] the first martyr of Iconoclasm, or the outburst of popular unrest surrounding the downfall of Emperor Andronikos I and the rise of Isaac II Angelos in 1185.[70] In both incidents, the available narrative sources talk about people of ill repute assuming roles as cheerleaders of popular outbursts of anger.

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[65] Ariantzi, “Byzantinische Prostituierte,” 18, 35–36.

[66] Ariantzi, “Byzantinische Prostituierte,” 4, 18, 37.

[67] Ariantzi, “Byzantinische Prostituierte,” 18, n. 70: Although Byzantine public policy did not prohibit the existence of brothels, it relegated them to side streets and remote locations, to neighborhoods outside the center or the walls, in a form of “moral zoning.” The Zeugma, Acropolis Hill, Domninos Embolos, ports, the area around the Hippodrome, and theaters are some of the locations in Constantinople where prostitutes operated.

[68] Ariantzi, “Byzantinische Prostituierte,” 1–45.

[69] *Life of Stephen the Younger* (*BHG* 1666), ch. 71, lines 1–6, ed. Marie-France Auzépy, *La Vie d’Etienne le Jeune par Etienne le Diacre. Introduction, edition et traduction*, Birmingham Byzantine and Ottoman Monographs 3 (Aldershot, 1997). For this episode, see the essay by Julie Van Pelt in this volume, 308–309.

[70] *Nicetae Choniatae Historia*, ed. Jan A. van Dieten, CFHB 11/1 (Berlin, 1975), p. 349, lines 14–16: […] καὶ ἀπαιδευτότατοι τῆς Κωνσταντίνου οἰκήτορες καὶ τούτων οἱ ἀλλαντοπῶλαι πλέον καὶ βυρσοδέψαι καὶ

It is also noteworthy that marginalization was not necessarily regarded as a lifelong condition. Byzantine society, although often hierarchical, was nevertheless characterized by some degree of flexibility and mobility and thus provided possibilities for social ascent, changes in a person's status, reintegration, and acceptance by dominant groups. This is documented by individual stories of people belonging to one of the three professional groups in question who managed to become reintegrated into the social spheres of respected citizens and even achieved esteemed positions. Well-known models of social reintegration in Byzantium include the empresses of outsider background, who left her imprint on the empire's religious identity and collective historical memory. One may mention Helena, "the good stabularia," mother of Constantine the Great,[71] Justinian's wife Theodora, a former actress,[72] and Theophano, an innkeeper's daughter and wife of two 10th-century emperors.[73] Other individuals outside the imperial court but still in highly respected positions were Theodore of Sykeon, a former prostitute's son,[74] who became bishop and saint who healed the sick in the 6th century, and the son of a tavern keeper who rose to the position of judge (Εἴς τινα κάπηλον γενόμενον νομικόν) in the 11th century.[75]

5 Marginalization Mechanisms

As we just saw, Byzantine attitudes towards the three professional groups in question were ambiguous and inconsistent. Although often pushed to the fringes of society and lacking economic power, political influence, and status, they still were an integral part of it, and their presence was constantly attested. Accordingly, there were different levels or degrees of marginalization, which are reflected in the sources, depending on the reasons for an individual's stigmatization, his or her legal status (free citizen or slave), gender, and family background.

Female prostitutes and actresses, who were largely equated with prostitutes or considered potential prostitutes, were subject to an especially high degree of margin-

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ὅσοι τοῖς καπηλείοις διημερεύουσι [...]. Harry J. Magoulias, "Andronikos I. Komnenos: A Greek Tragedy," *Symmeikta* 21 (2011): 101–136. See also the essay by Kislinger and Ariantzi in this volume, 220.

[71] See the essay by Kislinger and Ariantzi in this volume, 215. Cf. Jan Willem Drijvers, *Helena Augusta: The Mother of Constantine the Great and her Finding of the True Cross* (Leiden, 1997), 79–85.

[72] Kislinger, *Gastgewerbe*, 138. James Allan Evans, *The Empress Theodora, Partner of Justinian* (Austin, TX, 2002), 15. See also the essays by Andrew W. White and by Charis Messis in this volume, 80, 186.

[73] *PmbZ* # 28125: Ioannes Skylitzes claims that her father Krateros was an innkeeper.

[74] *Life of Theodore of Sykeon*, ch. 84, lines 24–27, ed. André J. Festugière, *Vie de Théodore de Sykéon*, 2 vols., *Subsidia Hagiographica*, 48 (Brussels, 1970), vol. 1, p. 71. Ariantzi, "Byzantinische Prostituierte," 20–21.

[75] *Michaelis Pselli Oratoria Minora*, *Oratio* 14, ed. Antony Robert Littlewood, Bibliotheca Schriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Tevbneriana (Leipzig, 1985), 51–57. See also Ariantzi, "Byzantinische Prostituierte," 19–20. Cf. the essay by Ewald Kislinger and Despoina Ariantzi in this volume, 223.

alization. Sexual intercourse with a prostitute was morally condemned but legally tolerated, the law considering prostitution a sin rather than an offense such as adultery. State and church authorities made efforts to protect the institution of marriage and preserve the established role of women in the family.[76] The sexually unrestrained prostitute appears as the antitype to the decorous and honorable wife and mother. Her professional activity was considered shameless and immoral because it ran counter to the principles of the state and the church regarding the position of women.[77]

However, some ecclesiastical authorities put pressure on emperors to take legal measures to combat the phenomenon of prostitution. The novel of Emperor Andronikos II Palaiologos (1282–1328) on prostitutes and pimps from the early 14th century was issued thanks to the efforts of Patriarch Athanasios I to combat prostitution. This piece of legislation mostly reiterates the content of imperial laws of the early Byzantine period regarding the culpability of brothel owners and procurers. They were considered culpable because they took advantage of the poverty of girls and forced them into prostitution. Accordingly, they were to be punished with property confiscation, as in previous centuries. However, for the first time, this law prescribed a punishment for “the woman who offers herself freely.” She “shall be punished by having her hair cut and a shameful procession.”[78] This humiliating form of punishment showcases the emperor’s intention through the above legislation to denounce prostitutes publicly in order to force them to comply. Furthermore, the novel was to serve as a deterrent to other women from engaging in acts of prostitution.[79] Undoubtedly, this public stigmatization contributed to the marginalization of prostitutes. Although we do not have concrete evidence for the effect this novel had on the living conditions of prostitutes, its very existence still indicates that there must have been a growing awareness of the problems related to prostitution, at least in the milieu of the late Byzantine capital. It is well known that Patriarch Athanasios I was more broadly opposed to the licentiousness of taverns, where wine and prostitutes were offered.[80] His concerns thus found their immediate expression in Andronikos’ novel.

What do non-normative texts tell us about the marginalization of prostitutes in Byzantine society? There is a whole set of statements and descriptions of exemplary behaviors regulating the attitude people were expected to adopt towards prostitutes.

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[76] Ariantzi, “Byzantinische Prostituierte,” 41.

[77] McGinn, “Roman Prostitutes,” 657.

[78] *JGR*, 1:535. For this Novel, see Laniado, “La prostitution,” 81–85. Cf. the essay by Charis Messis in this volume, 74–75.

[79] For this kind of punishment, see Spyros N. Troianos, “Οι ποινές στο βυζαντινό δίκαιο,” in *Έγκλημα και τιμωρία στο Βυζάντιο*, ed. Spyros N. Troianos (Athens, 1997), 13–65.

[80] See the essay of Ewald Kislinger and Despoina Ariantzi in this volume. Under the pressure of letters from Patriarch Athanasios, Emperor Andronikos II issued another novel in 1304, imposing the closing of taverns on weekends so that people could attend church services instead of drinking and having fun in taverns.

References were often accompanied by appeals calling on people of both sexes to distance themselves from “impure, immoral, filthy, and sinful people,” who are considered the embodiment of evil and sin. Furthermore, the available accounts make plain that society has developed collective defensive mechanisms in response to the offensive behavior of prostitutes. Decent citizens were supposed to exhibit contempt for prostitutes, offend them, stay aloof, look at them disdainfully, and speak with them in a stern and reprimanding manner to convey the message that these women were not welcome in the sphere of accepted moral norms. To further enhance this contrast, the narratives often emphasize that prostitutes reacted to such displays of disapproval and rebuke with contempt. They are presented as ostentatiously mingling with people and provocatively soliciting their customers.[81] However, the accounts also point out that people felt compassion for and wished to help prostitutes because of the adverse circumstances that had forced them to choose this path.[82] Marginalization was apparently perceived as a reversible process. In theory and according to the precepts of Christian morality, it was not a lifelong status but limited in time and confined to certain conditions. Individuals had a way out, provided they were willing to show remorse and practice repentance. The two paths our sources offer prostitutes and actresses toward their reintegration into the society of the “decent” were marriage and monastic life.[83] The idealized image of the penitent sinner certainly was a well-known cliche in hagiographical texts but also reflected widely shared concepts of social order, sin, and atonement.

In everyday practice, the reintegration of prostitutes into society was complicated. The texts testify that people were reluctant to accept the sincerity of prostitutes in their intent to abandon their profession. Byzantine society is presented as quite hesitant in embracing “its new members” as equals and granting forgiveness for their previous lifestyle. Every misstep could destroy what had been achieved, and the danger of relapse was constantly impending. A serious stumbling block mentioned in the sources was the pressure exerted by people of the old milieu, be it procurers or former clients. Such accounts vividly illustrate the challenges and obstacles former prostitutes faced in their efforts to adapt to the moral precepts and behavioral patterns of social decency. The individuals described in the sources experienced many ups and downs during the reintegration process until they gained stability, or eventually failed.[84]

The marginalization of the *mimos* is associated with the actor’s affiliation with an infamous profession in the early Byzantine period.[85] Actors could not serve in the army, hold magistracies, or file lawsuits. Sources from the period predating the Council of Trullo (691/92) often single out two types of entertainers, namely the *thymelikai/thymelikoi* and the *mimoi*. The former played musical instruments, danced, sang, and performed at wedding feasts. The latter was a type of performer with even lower moral standing than their singing and dancing colleagues. Canon 24 of the Council of Trullo prohibited clergymen from watching performances and instructed them to leave wedding feasts before dancers and musicians appeared. Canon 41 explicitly prohibited these performances and threatened participants with excommunication. These ecclesiastical prohibitions were apparently not strictly applied, as the sources testify that performances continued to be staged and were particularly dear to the people. However, the term *mimos* does not appear frequently from the 7th through 11th centuries and seems to have been replaced by other terms such as *paigniotis*, *skenikos*, or *gelotopoios*.[86]

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[81] For analysis of the numerous hagiographical and historiographical examples, see Ariantzi, “Byzantinische Prostituierte,” 8–16.

[82] Ariantzi, “Byzantinische Prostituierte,” 16–135.

[83] Ariantzi, “Byzantinische Prostituierte,” 40–43.

[84] Ariantzi, “Byzantinische Prostituierte,” 17–18, 43–44.

[85] For this topic see the essay by Andrew W. White in this volume.

Undoubtedly, *mimoi* did not suffer the same degree of rejection and marginalization by society as prostitutes. The discrimination they endured was more ambiguous. While they had been deprived of political rights ever since the early Byzantine period, they never ceased to be an intrinsic part of public performances and entertainment in Byzantium. They even had a specific role in ritualized state acts, such as imperial ceremonies and triumphs, punishments, and humiliations, which took place in the Hippodrome and other public spaces related to the empire's ruling elite. Byzantine emperors watched their performances, enjoyed their company, and granted them not only money and gifts but also high-ranking titles. Some gained a high reputation and were especially dear to those who loved watching their shows. The *mimoi* were primarily marginalized by the representatives of the Church and members of the intellectual elite, who disliked the performances because they were offensive, coarse, sexually charged, or even obscene, running counter to strict Christian morals. Author from the 11th and 12th centuries, such as Michael Psellos, Kekaumenos, and Theodoros Prodromos, were especially outspoken in expressing their rejection and disgust. They regarded them as of low intellectual capacity and social standing and equated them with foul-mouthed commoners and flatterers. Kekaumenos disapproved of the people making gifts to performers and advised them not to give money to mimes, foul-mouthed people, and flatterers but to respectable men, friends, and those in need. The author urged the emperor, if he wished to reward the mimes, to give them a few coins but no offices—those should be assigned to people worthy of them. In the 12th century, specialists of canon law distinguished between honest *thymelikoi* and "lawful" *skenikoi* working in the emperor's service and their dishonest counterparts. Ecclesiastical authors discarded the *mimoi* as an unacceptable group of people because they incited unseemly laughter and emotions, which the clergy tended to consider troubling and inappropriate.[87]

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[86] Tinnefeld, "Zum profanen Mimos in Byzanz," 123–124; Marciniak, "How to Entertain the Byzantines," 127–130, 140.

Tavernkeepers were in a more advantageous position compared to prostitutes and actors. Their services were meant to entertain, and they all used taverns and lodging houses for their activities. In the 6th century, legal prohibitions forbidding them to serve in select military units or to watch public spectacles in the Hippodrome became obsolete, which indicates that their legal status had improved.[88] Tavernkeepers had fixed locations and could be found primarily in the market areas and ports of big cities, but also in provincial towns or traffic arteries in the countryside. The state drew significant profit from their business through taxation. According to the early 10th century Book of the Prefect or Eparch, tavernkeepers formed one of the professional guilds in Constantinople, similar to bakers, merchants, silk traders, jewelers, and various craftsmen. Chapter 19 (*Peri Kapilon*) established prices for wine, calibrated jars for serving, prohibited unfair competition, and introduced rules regarding the closing times on public holidays and Sundays and the curfew in the evening. The Prefect explicitly forbade overnight services for customers, to avoid excessive consumption and outbursts of violence during the night.[89] The Eparch's Book nowhere alludes to the tavernkeeper's links with the prostitution business, which was officially not part of his profession.

Although tavern- and innkeepers were legally recognized as a professional group and contributed significantly to state revenues, they had a poor image and reputation in Byzantine society. Unlike legal and normative texts, the available narrative sources paint a somewhat ambiguous picture of men and women practicing this profession, who, according to the relevant accounts, stood with one foot in the sphere of legality and decency and with the other were teetering on the brink of immorality and crime. Their position in the twilight zone of social acceptability is mainly due to their close ties with prostitutes, which earned them the reputation of procurers.[90] Moreover, they are often described as being involved in brawls, thefts, and other illegal activities listed in the penal provisions of Byzantine criminal law.[91] Thus, despite their well-defined and commonly accepted position in the social fabric of urban markets, ports, and trade routes, tavernkeepers were socially defamed and often suspected of obscene behavior and disdainful business. With its traditional diatribes against this profession, the Church had an impact on the attitude of state authorities and contributed significantly to the dreary image of tavernkeepers, even though it hardly brought about any changes to the views and practices of those who frequented these localities and relied on tavernkeepers' services. Even in its own ranks, the Church struggled to enforce prohibitions barring clerics from entering taverns and inns.[92]

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[87] Tinnefeld, "Zum profanen Mimos in Byzanz," 335–343; Marciniak, "How to Entertain the Byzantines," 130–132.

[88] Kislinger, *Gastgewerbe*, 37.

[89] Kislinger, *Gastgewerbe*, 156–158.

[90] Kislinger, *Gastgewerbe*, 132–139, 152–158.

[91] Troianos, "Καπηλεία και εγκληματικότητα," 1285–1300.

Unlike prostitutes and actors, the hospitality industry did not face marginalization, provided that tavernkeepers limited their services to the customary offerings of food, drink, conviviality, and accommodation. However, if they employed actors or provided the services of prostitutes, their reputation quickly suffered, and they became objects of suspicion. The fact that women legally employed in taverns often engaged in illegal prostitution for additional income highlights the blurred boundary between legal and illegal activities. Nonetheless, there was a strong temptation for tavernkeepers to enhance their business through these extra services.[93]

Concerning this professional group, too, the sources speak about various mechanisms of social marginalization, which could have dire consequences not only for tavernkeepers themselves but also for their relatives and descendants. The bad reputation of parents also stigmatized their children, just as with the offspring of prostitutes.[94] A case in point is Michael Psellos' speech on the "son of a tavernkeeper who became a judge" and the acerbic sarcasm with which the author portrays the social ascent of this person who formerly kept company with prostitutes.[95] As a member of the Constantinopolitan ruling elite, he was not inclined to accept that personal capabilities counted for more than group membership.[96] He articulated here the standpoint of a rigid hierarchical order that assessed its members primarily based on family ancestry, wealth, and education, giving little consideration to the merits of talent and character. For those on the top, the advancement of persons from dubious backgrounds was perceived as a threat to the existing order, and the privileged position they enjoyed and was, in their view, deservedly reserved for themselves.

In the 12th century, Ptochoprodromos' wife complained to her husband about their unhappy marriage. As the main reason she cited their diverging social and economic status. She originated from a noble and wealthy family, whereas her husband was of a poor background. She had brought a dowry into the marriage, raised the children, and managed the household while he sat idly by. Hence, she advised him to marry a woman from his own class, for example, the "destitute and penniless" daughter of a tavernkeeper.[97]

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[92] Kislinger, *Gastgewerbe*, 132–139, 152–158.

[93] Ewald Kislinger, "Byzantium: new insights into marginalized groups," in *scilog*: The online FWF Science Magazine, 11/2019.

[94] Ariantzi, "Byzantinische Prostituierte," 20–21, 39, 43–44.

[95] *Michaelis Pselli Oratoria Minora*, Oratio 14, lines 51–57, ed. Littlewood.

[96] Ariantzi, "Byzantinische Prostituierte," 19–20.

[97] *Πτωχοπρόδρομος*, ed. Hans Eideneier (Irakleio, 2012), p. 157, lines 107–108: ἂς ἔλαβες ὁμοίαν σου, καπήλου θυγατέραν, κουτσοπαρδάλαν τίποτε, γυμνήν ἠπορημένην, ... Margaret Alexiou, "Ploys of performance: Games and play in the Ptochoprodromic Poems," *DOP* 53 (1999): 91–109, at 96–97; Angeliki E. Laiou, *Gender, Society and Economic Life in Byzantium* (Nottingham, 1992), 203, 237.

The Poulologos, a literary work dating to the second half of the 14th century, expresses a set of social perceptions, identity concepts, and attitudes toward social groups under the guise of episodes and dialogues occurring among the community of birds, which, however, bears recognizable human traits and characteristics. During an argument, the flamingo (*paragialites*) contemptuously characterizes the pheasant as "the useless son of some tavernkeeper woman," who is not welcome in his company and should stay away.[98] The adjective *achrestos*, i.e., "useless," is semantically linked with the generally shared disrespect for the pheasant's mother's profession.

All these texts, in one way or another, disseminate notions and concepts of the empire's social and intellectual elite. They impart to their readers concepts of moral and social barriers separating the "we"-group, i.e., the ruling class and all "decent" or "normal" people, from the others or outsiders, i.e., all those deviating from dominant models of social and moral behavior. Concepts of good order, sets of legal norms, rules of moral behavior, and Christian concepts of sin and repentance constituted the normative and regulative tools for determining the Byzantine discourse of marginalization as an effective control mechanism of inclusion and exclusion. Other criteria, such as social background, family, and economic status, were employed to define social groups and hierarchies and to regulate forms of social mobility. Elites tended to consider upward mobility as a threat to their exclusiveness and expressed their negative stance by blurring the notions of low social standing and marginalized status.

6 The Contributions of this Volume

Although it is impossible to cover all aspects of a topic as multifaceted as marginalization and marginal groups in one volume, an attempt is made in this volume to cover several key elements as they occurred throughout the Byzantine millennium and to employ an interdisciplinary approach to the subject by examining a large body of written sources in conjunction with pictorial representations and archaeological material. Such a volume could certainly not do without a contribution covering the medieval West to highlight similarities and differences between the Latin and Byzantine spheres. This volume thus consists of a theoretical and methodological introductory part and four thematic sections dedicated to prostitutes and prostitution, tavern- and innkeepers, actors and performers, and the narratological analysis of texts dealing with the three groups in question.

Dion Smythe opens his discussion about the Byzantine outsider with a critical reassessment of modern approaches to the "other," "stranger," "foreigner," "outsider,"

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[98] *Μεσαιωνικές ιστορίες ζώων. Διήγησις των Τετραπόδων Ζώων και Πουλολόγος*, ed. Hans Eideneier (Irakleio, 2016), p. 282, lines 284–285: "ὅτι κοπέλιν ἄχρηστον καπήλισσας ὀκάποιας ποσῶς οὐδὲν τὸ χρήζομεν νὰ κάθεται κοντά μας."

"different," and "not like us" people in Byzantium in conjunction with some reflections on the issue of contemporary outsiders (me-too-movement, black-lives-matters, etc.). He seeks to establish a valid and coherent theoretical framework for thinking about outsiders by pointing out two fundamental presuppositions that should be considered by those engaged in research on the "other." Firstly, any discussion of outsiders or subgroups can be understood only in terms of the relationship between the defining in-group and the defined out-group. Secondly, the status of outsiders is not permanent. The role and social status of individuals were subject to change, and Byzantine society, although overwhelmingly hierarchical, also gave leeway to various forms of social mobility. Smythe thus presents three different approaches to a much larger group of people living on the fringes of Byzantine society, which can be subsumed under the labels of foreigners, strangers, or outsiders, both external and internal. In particular, there are (1) approaches relating to source texts, (2) approaches relating to sociology-anthropology, and (3) approaches relating to "identity politics." To better understand the large body of available literary sources and manage the manifold phenomena presented in them, it is expedient to categorize outsiders into (1) outsiders by ethnicity, (2) outsiders by religion, (3) outsiders by gender, (4) and outsiders by *taxis*, that is, social order. In this way, Smythe provides a flexible theoretical and terminological framework encompassing all groups and aspects discussed in this volume. Prostitutes, actors, and tavernkeepers can be understood as specific subtypes of internal outsiders in Byzantine society.

The second part of the volume deals with prostitutes in Byzantium and their marginalization from the early to the late Byzantine period, as well as in Byzantine art and the western medieval world. Charis Messis discusses terminological matters related to the definition of prostitutes in Byzantine sources and the multilayered use of the terms *porne* ("prostitute") and *porneia* ("prostitution") over the centuries. By referring to secular and ecclesiastical law, he presents two ways by which prostitutes became legally visible, namely provisions concerning marriage prohibitions between members of different statutory categories and regulations regarding sex procurement. As regards the typology of prostitutes in Byzantine literature, he discusses individual stories of prostitutes from early and middle Byzantine hagiography, drawing a distinction based on geographical and spatial criteria between poor prostitutes in rural environments and those in urban centers, who are portrayed as greedy for profit and luxuries.

Broaching the issue of whether and to what extent prostitution was a marginal activity in Byzantine society and whether prostitutes could be considered marginalized, Messis concludes that marginalization concerns groups and not individuals. Prostitutes, however, never constituted a homogeneous group. If marginalization concerns individuals, it is difficult to trace such incidents by following the careers of specific women. Most texts, especially hagiographical texts, tell us stories of integration rather than marginalization. However, prostitutes were marginalized for a part of the population but necessary for another part because of the services they offered. Messis establishes three criteria to assess the degree of marginalization of prostitutes: (1) access to marriage and “normal” life, (2) spatial restrictions on movement and activities, and (3) the status of infamy conditioned by the first two.

Günter Prinzing deals with incidents of suspected and proven prostitution in the late Byzantine period based on court records from the period 1204–1453. The material is gleaned from three groups of sources, namely judicial rulings issued by the ecclesiastical synod in Epirus from the first half of the 13th century, decisions of the patriarchal court in Constantinople from the 14th and 15th centuries, and the novel issued by Andronikos II Palaiologos (1282–1328) in 1306 at the request of Patriarch Athanasios I. Overall, prostitution only rarely appears in documents of ecclesiastical jurisdiction during the period in question. Specifically, the acts of the patriarchal register preserve three proven cases of prostitution in the second half of the 14th century, with two of them referring to the Hodegon Monastery and one to a pseudo-monastery (and de facto brothel) in the house of a prostitute named Thiniatissa. She was disguised as a nun and received her clients at home while other nuns living in her house practiced the same profession. Residents of the neighborhood petitioned the authorities to “take measures and remove this disgrace from their home.”

This example makes us think that prostitution was practiced almost everywhere in the city, not only in public spaces but also in hidden sites and private homes, to avoid the social stigmatization and marginalization of prostitutes, as the cases referring to the monastic milieu of Constantinople indicate. In the acts of the Metropolitan John Apokaukos of Naupaktos and Archbishop Demetrios Chomatenos of Ochrid, prostitution is implied and mainly concerns married women who cheated on their husbands so that the latter sought divorce. Although it remains unclear whether the incidents in question were cases of prostitution or adultery, there are hints indicating that prostitution was involved. Reportedly, these women were often absent at night and sometimes even for several days. The women had more than one lover. In one case, the husband even accused his mother-in-law of procuring her daughter. Another case deals with the divorce of a married man from Kastoria, who abandoned his wife after living with a Vlach prostitute as a concubine.

Cecily Hennessy’s chapter delves into the portrayal of penitent harlots in Byzantine and Western art, with a focus on Mary Magdalene and the paradox of her marginalization and demarginalization in East and West as reflected in extant pictorial representations. In the West, the figure of Mary Magdalene merged with Mary of Bethany (the sister of Martha and Lazarus) and the Blessed Sinner, commonly interpreted as a prostitute. After the 11th century, her cult flourished because of her role as a fallen and redeemed figure with whom believers were inspired to identify. Thus, she became the most revered female saint in the 12th century, and the most famous harlot. In Byzantium, however, she is portrayed as a figure of virtue, not associated with prostitution, sin, repentance, or suffering. In the Gospel texts, Mary Magdalene appears as an essential figure in the story of Christ. She played a significant role as a companion, witness, and apostle to the apostles. She was present with the other women in Galilee, serving Christ, and in some accounts, remained a companion of the Virgin Mary until her death. However, in the East, she was somewhat marginalized. She was not a significant saint, nor did she have a church dedicated to her in Constantinople, and she rarely appeared in imagery except within a narrative context. The chapter also discusses the different cultural contexts of prostitution in Byzantium and the Latin West, including attitudes toward marriage, concubinage, and slavery. Additionally, it addresses the cult of other penitent harlots, such as Mary of Egypt, Pelagia, Porphyria, and Taisia, and their iconographic depictions in East and West. While Byzantine prostitute saints are represented in Byzantine art, their cults are relatively minor compared to those of Saints Anne, Barbara, Thecla, or Catherine.

Frank Meier examines the multifaceted pathways leading to prostitution and marginalization in medieval German cities, shedding light on the complex and often contradictory conditions under which prostitutes lived and worked in brothels. The documentation of urban prostitution in historical sources, including women's shelter regulations, council decisions, and court judgments, offers valuable insights. It is evident that a significant number of urban prostitutes belonged to the lower classes. Similar to the situation in Byzantium, factors such as poverty, rape, and broken marriages, as well as the influence of traffickers and pimps, promoted prostitution in medieval Western cities. Notably, there were instances where town councils took action against the trafficking of women. Additionally, it is noteworthy that most prostitutes were either foreigners or from the immediate vicinity, as burgher daughters, like virgins, were prohibited from engaging in such activities.

In contrast to Byzantine society, which merely tolerated prostitution, Western medieval societies provided it with institutional and legal legitimization as a necessary evil. Since most people were unable to obtain marriage licenses, brothels served as an important outlet. Brothels were overseen by the town council and existed in every major town. By setting up brothels, the city councilors aimed to prevent clandestine prostitution on the streets, in taverns, and in private apartments. The purpose of women's shelter regulations was to protect prostitutes. However, this was only partially successful, as some of their masters did not adhere to the detailed specifications. Prostitutes were both respected and despised in medieval society. The council promoted commercial prostitution within the institutional framework of the women's shelter. Accordingly, the church tolerated commercial prostitution as a lesser evil, and some shelter regulations explicitly referred to this. Prostitutes were no outsiders. They had their place in the church, were invited to weddings as a token of fertility and good luck, and participated in public festivities.

Even though medieval town councils legalized prostitution by establishing brothels, they also marginalized prostitutes with a series of measures. Free prostitutes, who did not work in brothels operated by the town council, were expected to participate in public festivals and games as symbols of fertility. Prostitutes working in town brothels were easily identifiable due to their distinct clothing, which further stigmatized them. The marginalization of prostitutes was linked to the expectation that a "respectable" woman had to be married, a widow, or a nun. As a result, prostitutes could not acquire civil rights or get married, which made any attempt at rehabilitation into civil life futile. Attempts to ban prostitution, such as the order issued by the French King Louis IX in 1254 to expel all prostitutes from France and confiscate their property and clothes, ultimately failed. It was only after the Reformation that prostitutes were massively discriminated against, women's shelters closed, and their trade relegated to dishonorable circles.

The third part of the volume deals with mimes, actors, and performers, their position in society, and the forms of marginalization applied to them from the early to the late Byzantine period. Andrew W. White examines the case of the marginal mime. By the early Byzantine period, marginalizing mimes had become a mainstream phenomenon. The relative invisibility of the mimes' marginal status speaks to a curious phenomenon of dueling narratives: on the one hand, working actors often had enough money to hire slaves and enjoyed widespread popular acceptance. On the other hand, for all their fame and fortune, mimes were always reviled by Roman intellectuals and officials who, given the opportunity, could make their lives utterly miserable. The chapter discusses the regulation of secular and ecclesiastical law during a pivotal period in the history of Roman mimes, focusing on the changes in their social status. Mimes faced harsh measures in the late Roman era, which led to their social marginalization and loss of respectability. By the end of the 4th century, Roman mimes were legally marginalized, and their status bordered on slavery due to centuries of hardening attitudes and strict legal restrictions. However, their situation gradually improved with their Christianization and changes in civil legislation. Emperor Justinian played a significant role in these reforms, abolishing laws that marginalized actors and improving their social status. His reforms also granted actresses the right to marry men of high social standing and removed penalties for women returning to acting. Additionally, severe penalties were imposed on officials who tried to force women to remain in the theaters. Choricios of Gaza's *Apologia Mimorum* is an oration that seeks to elevate the social status of mimes, even among the elite who despised them. By the 6th century, many mimes had embraced Christianity, and some had returned to performing. Changes in Justinian's legislation appeared to have improved the everyday lives of mimes, allowing them to move about without social stigma, perform in the streets, and even participate in church activities on Sundays. This chapter highlights the various shifts in the fortunes of mimes, cautioning against overemphasizing a single historical period as representative of their entire experience.

The performative culture of the Byzantine era is not well understood, especially when it comes to mimes and actors during the middle and late Byzantine periods, as discussed by Przemysław Marciniak. The main challenge in studying Byzantine mimes is the nature of the sources. The extant material is scattered and often difficult to interpret. Accounts of mimes are so varied that it is uncertain whether they represent a literary creation or a reflection of contemporary social realities. Therefore caution is necessary, and sweeping generalizations about the Byzantine era should be avoided. Marciniak avoids reconstructing a “continuous tradition” but instead focuses on how mimes and actors were depicted in middle and late Byzantine literature by addressing several key questions: Did the portrayal of mimes change? Was it consistently negative? Did it differ between genres? Do we see a coherent image of despised mimes, or rather a random collection of depictions and stereotypes used as needed by different authors?

Mimes and performers were a diverse group that was never organized into a guild. Both textual and visual sources confirm the presence of various performers but provide little detail beyond that. This lack of clarity is further complicated by the terminology used, as Byzantine writers employed a variety of terms to describe entertainers. They have used these terms interchangeably without distinguishing between different types of performers. It is also challenging to reconstruct specific performance methods. Despite changes in social, political, and religious conditions for performers during the middle and late Byzantine period and a decrease in conflict with the church, they continued to be seen as a moral danger to the audience.

Regarding whether Byzantine mimes were marginalized, it is worth noting that marginalization did not necessarily equate with complete exclusion. It could also mean that a group placed at the fringes of society was tolerated to the extent that it abided by a set of restrictions. The language used in hagiographical and historical texts and twelfth-century canon law was unequivocally denigrating. Despite this, Byzantine texts also highlight the mimes’ involvement in palace ceremonies and public or private festivities, suggesting an indispensable role in and a beneficial effect on society. Therefore, the image projected by the sources is complex and contains numerous ambiguities and contradictions.

The fourth part of the volume consists of three chapters that take a closer look at tavernkeepers and the activities and establishments associated with them from both historical and archaeological perspectives. This section shifts the focus from marginalization to a broader examination of the two contrasting types of Byzantine hospitality: disreputable taverns and shady commercial inns, on the one hand, and ecclesiastical or imperial charitable guesthouses (*xenodocheia*, *xenones*) offering services to poor pilgrims and travelers, on the other. Ewald Kislinger and Despoina Ariantzi provide an overview of these forms of standardized hospitality in Byzantium from the early to the late Byzantine period. Starting from the 4th century, state recognition enabled Christian institutions to put their ideas of charitable hospitality and welfare into action, allowing them to compete with commercial establishments, which had already existed in ancient times under the designations of *kapeleia* and *pandocheia*. The chapter describes the ambiguous social status of tavern- and innkeepers, who positioned themselves between social acceptance and marginalization based on how they ran their businesses. In 10th-century Constantinople, tavernkeepers formed a guild and provided wine, food, and lodging while paying taxes to the state treasury. However, taverns also attracted unsavory behavior, illegal activities, and prostitution. Despite institutional acceptance, tavern owners were often associated with criminal elements.

Additionally, taverns were no meeting places for social or intellectual elites, while disreputable individuals often frequented them, thus tarnishing tavernkeepers' reputations.

It comes as no surprise that Church Fathers and ecclesiastical authorities were overwhelmingly ill-disposed towards taverns and inns, as well as the people frequenting them, and thus created a discursive framework of moral repudiation defining tavern owners as social outcasts. Christian morality programmatically discarded all forms of *aselgeia*, i.e., "licentiousness," whether the form of wine consumption, sexual promiscuity, or musical enjoyment. However, these activities were an indispensable part of the tavernkeeper's profession, and taverns never ceased to be in high demand. From the 11th century onwards, there seems to have been a further increase in the consumption behavior of Byzantine tavern customers. The growing income of tavernkeepers brought about an elevation of their social status. Members of tavernkeeper families promoted to the rank of judges were rare exceptions indeed. However, such incidents also reflect a general trend among 11th-century tradespeople and businesspeople, who aspired to social advancement, recognition, and, if their economic situation allowed it, gaining a seat in the Senate. No doubt the empire's economic upswing in the 11th and 12th centuries also benefited religious hospitality institutions, thanks to the patronage of extremely affluent aristocratic landowners. Hence, we know of guesthouses for pilgrims and the poor that operated in the Bachkovo Monastery (in modern-day Bulgaria), founded by Gregory Pakourianos, and in the Almshouse in Rhaidestos (modern Tekirdağ), founded by Michael Attaleiates. Overall, the Byzantine hospitality sector continued to flourish in both its religiously accepted form as charitable guesthouses and its morally repudiated but omnipresent form as commercial taverns and inns to the very last days of the Byzantine millennium.

Max Ritter deals with the tavernkeeper's antipode, the *xenodochos*, i.e., the steward or head of charitable guesthouses (*xenodocheion*, *xenon*). The foundation and maintenance of the oldest *xenodocheia* can be traced back to the initiatives of bishops and monastic communities. From the 6th century onwards, emperors also began to make their appearance as founders and supporters of *xenodocheia*. In this way, they not only projected their care for the poor and needy, following the principle of philanthropy as prescribed by the moral concepts of imperial ideology, but they also strengthened the ties between the central government and the provinces. This is suggested by the fact that a series of imperial guesthouses established after the 6th century were situated at ports providing ferry connections with Constantinople and at termini of significant transport routes. They are documented in sources dating between the 8th and 10th centuries in places like Loupadion, Nicaea, Pylaia, Sangaros, Nicomedia, and Thessalonike. Ritter discusses the problems and challenges a *xenodochos* faced while operating and managing these institutions, as reflected in Canon Law and the legislation of Emperor Justinian. This normative body of evidence can partially be aligned with the details provided by narrative sources referring to charitable guesthouses. Apart from juxtaposing normative and narrative texts regarding the everyday realities of guesthouse stewards, this chapter also explores the social network of these people in their respective dioceses or monastic communities and their interactions with the guests. Remarkably, the heads of guesthouses often managed to climb the ecclesiastical hierarchy and become bishops or patriarchs.

While the written sources frequently refer to the hospitality sector, be it *kapileia*, *pandocheia*, or *xenodocheia*, the archaeological evidence for taverns and inns in Byzantium is scarce and contradictory. Numerous archaeological finds linkable to the hospitality industry have been discovered in the ancient Roman sites of Pompeii, Herculaneum, and Ostia. In the Byzantine period, taverns and inns were undoubtedly just as typical. The expansion of Christian pilgrimage ever since the fourth century generated a growing need for guesthouses along the roadways leading to the significant pilgrimage sites, many of which were located in Asia Minor. Beate Böhlendorf-Arslan's chapter surveys archaeological evidence for taverns, inns, and guesthouses in Byzantine Asia Minor from the 4th to the 11th centuries. In particular, it discusses the question of how such establishments can be identified in archaeological contexts and presents numerous examples of relevant archaeological material from Sardis, Ephesus, Tripolis on the Maeander, Sagalassos, and Boğazköy in central Anatolia. The topographical distribution of taverns in Pompeii offers clues for the location of taverns and inns in late antique and Byzantine cities. It allows us to assume that they must be sought in or near the city center. Moreover, buildings built or converted to provide lodging and food to travelers were to be found at various points along the empire's main roads, the so-called *cursus publicus*. Some ancient Roman way stations (*mansiones*) still operated in Byzantine times, but they had passed into private hands. Some are still identifiable, but the number of preserved *mansiones* has never been systematically recorded.

The archaeological research has singled out typological and functional features of buildings that can be identified with early and middle Byzantine inns on transportation and communication arteries in Asia Minor. Significant examples of inns, hostels, or guesthouses are remains of an early Byzantine *mansio* at the southern exit of Döşeme Boğazı, which is part of the *Via Sebaste* running from Pergamon to Side; a large building complex on the road from Diokaisareia (Olba) to Korasion near Seleukeia (modern Silifke); structures at the Alahan Monastery near Mut; and remains at the western gate of the city of Assos (modern Behram) at the Aegean coast of Asia Minor in the Gulf of Lesbos. These buildings were usually multi-storied and had separate kitchen and restaurant spaces accessible from the main road, huts, stables for horses, water supply features, and, at pilgrimage sites, even a church.

The final chapter, by Julie Van Pelt, deals with discourse-analytical approaches to the three marginal groups by focusing on narratological aspects of Byzantine hagiography. This genre depicts members of these groups in complex and contradictory ways. By sifting through numerous early and middle Byzantine hagiographical texts featuring characters representing one of these groups, Van Pelt charts the narrative mechanisms by which these figures were marginalized while becoming central in other ways. She distinguishes between texts in which prostitutes, actors, and tavernkeepers appear as side characters and those in which a saint him-or herself belongs to one of these professions. In the latter category, a subgroup of figures started as practitioners of one of these professions but changed their lives, repented, and turned into saints. A case in point is the repentant prostitutes, also known as “holy harlots.” Another subgroup subsumes characters who never abandoned their profession but were still virtuous Christians (and indeed saints). Individuals who worked as prostitutes, actors, and tavernkeepers were not only cast out of Byzantine society but were also marginalized in a religious and spiritual sense. Their professions were viewed as sinful, leading to their exclusion from social and religious communities. Nevertheless, Christianity always maintained ties with social outsiders and sinners. Thus, based on the Gospel’s message, they all had the opportunity to enter the kingdom of Christ and be saved spiritually after sincere repentance.

The contributions gathered in this volume do not aim to treat the subject of marginal groups and mechanisms of marginalization in Byzantine society comprehensively. Instead, they showcase different methodological approaches to and interpretations of three specific marginal groups and the prevalent perceptions of them in Byzantine society. This thematic focus enables us to study historical realities, narrative representations, and material remains related to a specific social and professional environment against the background of broader debates about the Byzantine outsider, which have dominated the scholarly literature so far. It also allows us to draw specific comparisons with similar phenomena and discourses in the medieval West. It seeks ways to better understand the results gained from historical analysis, narratology, art history, and archaeology with the aid of the terminology and analytical tools provided by modern social sciences. In this sense, this volume may provide helpful guidance for further advancing research on marginalization in Byzantium and contextualizing it within the broader framework of mentalities and social life in medieval Southeast Europe, the Eastern Mediterranean, and the Christian Near East.

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Dion C. Smythe

Theoretical Approaches to the Byzantine Outsider

> "Thorby, every excessively clannish culture – and I know of none more clannish than this – every such culture has the same key word in its language . . . and the word is 'people' however they say it. It means themselves. 'Me and my wife, son John and his wife, us four and no more' – cutting off their group from all others and denying that others are even human. Have you heard the word 'fraki' yet?"
>
> "Yes. I don't know what it means."
>
> "A fraki is just a harmless, rather repulsive little animal. But when they say it, it means 'stranger'."
>
> "Uh, well, I guess I am a stranger."
>
> "Yes, but it also means you can never be anything else. It means that you and I are subhuman breeds outside the law – *their* law."[1]

We are all outsiders. With its intended echoes of Thomas Jefferson's inaugural speech as President of the United States of American in 1801,[2] when cities in both the United States and the United Kingdom ring to cries of 'Black Lives Matter' and some statues of historical personages are toppled,[3] we should consider how our study of history relates to the current-day reality on the streets.

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[1] Robert A. Heinlein, *Citizen of the Galaxy* (Harmondsworth, 1972), 83. This science-fiction novel, which I read when I was about 12 (a birthday present from my sister, for after all, the personal is political), was my first overt awareness of being an outsider or stranger—and my first encounter with what social anthropologists *do*.

[2] "We are all republicans: we are all federalists." *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson, Volume 33: 17 February to 30 April 1801* (Princeton, 2006), 148–152.

[3] See https://www.blacklivesmatter.com (last accessed 12 May 2025) for the movement's own website; various news reports covered the toppling of the statue of Edward Colston in Bristol in June 2020 (with a Byzantine connection, as Colston Hall in the same city is held to be an example of British Byz-

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Note: This paper is dedicated to the memory of Ruth J. Macrides (1949–2019), scholar, friend, and teacher.

I am indebted to the support of Prince Mohammad bin Fahd University, Al Khobar, Kingdom of Saudi Arabia and the CORE (Humanities and Social Sciences) Department for their support in the writing of this paper. This paper was first delivered orally at the International Conference "Marginalization and subculture groups: Prostitutes, actors and tavernkeepers in Byzantium," at the Department of Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies in the University of Vienna in May 2019, which was something of a home-coming for me as I spent a most profitable year 1987–1988 working on my thesis with ready access to the Byzantine Subject Library in the department. That year the advertising campaign for Vienna's Tourist Board had been "Wien ist anders." For me, Vienna was indeed different as the first place I lived in a German-speaking environment. Returning after so many years, Vienna was still 'different' (and in different ways), but it remains *gemütlich*.

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The street, here of course is the *Mesē.* Byzantium, especially for English speakers raised in countries that never formed part of the 'Byzantine Commonwealth,'[4] or never belonged in the realm of Christian Orthodoxy (save for small communities of immigrants and even smaller communities of converts), is easily construed and constructed as the ultimate 'other.' There is nothing, save basic common humanity, the theory goes, to unite the Byzantines with their modern commentators.[5] Whilst on one level this is true, it tends to hide the real nature of what we are attempting to discuss.

As humanists, it is best to start with the words that we might use to describe these 'others': 'strangers,' 'foreigners,' 'outsiders,' 'different,' 'not like us.'[6] Such words and terms—indeed, a plethora of them—exist in Byzantine Greek, and my PhD thesis[7] sought to unravel and explain all these various terms, when they were used, and most importantly, why they were used. My source texts were the well-known historical writings of the 11th and 12th centuries: Psellos's *Chronographia*, Komnene's *Alexiad*, and Choniates's *Narrative*.[8] At the start, my *Doktorvater* Paul Magdalino was concerned that these sources were too well-known and that nothing new could be said about them. My approach was decidedly qualitative rather than quantitative. I did not count the occurrences of each of the words. Rather, I was interested in the context: why did the three authors term a group of people *Tourkoi* [Turks], then *Persai*

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antine buildings) and the report on the BBC website, dated 18 June 2020, about the fate of the statue of Cecil Rhodes in Oriel College Oxford: "Oxford college wants to remove Cecil Rhodes statue", *BBC News* (https://www.bbc.com/news/education-53082545, last accessed 12 May 2025).

[4] Dimitri Obolensky, *The Byzantine Commonwealth: Eastern Europe, 500–14*53 (London, 1971); Dimitri Obolensky, *Six Byzantine Portraits* (Oxford, 1988).

[5] Alexander Kazhdan and Giles Constable, *People and Power in Byzantium: An Introduction to Modern Byzantine Studies* (Washington, D.C., 1982), 16–17 and 22; Alexander P. Kazhdan and Ann Wharton Epstein, *Change in Byzantine Culture in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries* (Berkley, 1985), 167–196.

[6] In German, such terms might be: Fremde, Ausländer, Außenseiter, Anderer; in French: étranger, autre, ceux d'enface. All languages have similar ranges of words, covering different yet overlapping categories of the 'other.'

[7] Dion C. Smythe, *Byzantine Perceptions of the Outsider in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries: A Method*, PhD Thesis (St. Andrews, 1992).

[8] Michaelis Pselli, *Chronographia*, ed. Diether Roderich Reinsch, 2 vols., Millennium Studies 51 (Berlin, 2014); Michael Psellus, *Fourteen Byzantine Rulers: The Chronographia of Michael Psellus*, trans. E. R. A. Sewter (Harmondsworth, 1966); Michael Psellos, *Leben der Byzantinischen Kaiser (976–1075) Chronographia*, trans. Diether Roderich Reinsch, Sammlung Tusculum (Berlin, 2015). Anna Comnenae Alexias, eds. Diether Roderich Reinsch and Athanasios Kambylis, CFHB 40/1–2 (Berlin, 2001); Anna Komnene Alexias, trans. Diether Roderich Reinsch, 2nd ed. (Berlin, 2001); Anna Comnène, *Alexiade*, ed. and trans. Bernard Leib (Paris, 1967), with a fourth index volume prepared by Paul Gautier (Paris, 1976); Anna Comnena, *The Alexiad of Anna Comnena*, trans. E. R. A. Sewter (Harmondsworth, 1969); *Nicetae Choniatae Historia*, ed. Jan-Louis van Dieten, CFHB 11/1 (Berlin, 1975); *O City of Byzantium: Annals of Niketas Choniates*, trans. Harry J. Magoulias (Detroit, 1984).

[Persians], then *Hagarenes* [the latter emphasizing their descent from Hagar and so their status as Muslims], often within a single story or anecdote?[9]

There are two fundamental ideas that must be noted here. Any discussion of outsiders or subgroups can be understood only in terms of the relationship between the defining in-group and the defined out-group. This is a social relationship of power, expressed as a vector (in the terms developed by Foucault)[10] by the élite of the outgroup. This aspect of outsider study is accepted across the field.

The second fundamental, accepted within the field but less well understood by those working in other, though related, fields, is that the status of outsider is not permanent. An individual's roles and statuses change through time. This notion tends to cause a 'brain freeze,' so I would ask you to consider the prime example, perhaps, of the "prostitute . . . and tavernkeeper in Byzantium": the Empress Theodora, consort-empress of Justinian I. Screeds have been written about Theodora, her role in the policies of Justinian's reign, and the veracity or trustworthiness of the sources from which we learn what we know about her. The simple point that I wish to make here is merely that the primary sources seem agreed that Theodora came from low if not to say infamous origins, yet she rose to become the wife of a powerful emperor, intent on *renovatio*.

Part of the attraction of Byzantium as an object of study is that, while it appears rigid, hierarchical, and controlled, yet it seems that all these regulations against social mobility could be overcome by a set of circumstances or a forceful individual with drive and determination (examples from the Middle Byzantine period are Basil I the Macedonian (867–886) and Michael IV the Paphlagonian (1034–1041), though they are not limited to these two). This two-sided appeal of Byzantium is repeated to an extent in the two-sided nature of the insider/outsider division. It is true that it is easier to see this appeal when one is not directly affected by it—if one is always cast into an outsider role and is therefore always deracinated from one's society and culture, then it has a more direct impact on lives and psyche. Even if one were to lay aside one's privilege, the very fact of 'laying it aside' means that it can be taken up again, at will.

The portmanteau nature of the terms 'outsider' and 'stranger' amongst others means that the range of literature that could be considered germane is exceptionally large. Many previous articles and books on [social] outsiders or strangers focused on one specific outgroup or ethnicity; they did not consider their group in relation to other similar groups nor did they explicitly explain how the group was defined. This is what I seek to do here: establish a valid and coherent theoretical framework for thinking about social outsiders.

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[9] I began my research focusing exclusively on 'ethnic' outsiders. When it became clear that ethnic categories were perpetually fluid, I expanded the categories of outsider to account for the treatments in the sources. This led eventually to the four-fold categories of analysis: outsiders by ethnicity, by gender, by religion, and by *taxis* (social and ultimately economic class).

[10] Robert Wuthnow, James Davidson Hunter, Albert Bergesen, and Edith Kurzweil, *Cultural Analysis: The Work of Peter L. Berger, Mary Douglas, Michael Foucault and Jurgen Habermas* (Boston, 1984); David Halperin, *Saint Foucault: Towards a Gay Hagiography* (Oxford, 1995).

The concept of intersectionality, a term coined by Kimberlé Crenshaw in 1989,[11] did not inform my doctoral research on Byzantine Outsiders. Intersectionality seeks to identify the various categories of identity that every person unites in their own person. Intersectionality proposes (sometimes very forcibly) that these categories of identity can be nested within a single individual and that these categories of identity establish rankings of social privilege and social discrimination.[12] The central point of intersectionality as I understand it is that these various identity-categories are not added one on top of another; rather we should think of them multiplying each other (this is not a perfect analogy, but it gives substance to the intent).[13] Its roots lie in third-wave feminism. First-wave feminism focused on suffrage; second-wave feminism focused on equality in the workplace and reproductive rights. Third-wave feminism has developed with the greater involvement and participation by women of colour and women from ethnic minorities in Western countries, but also the input of women from the so-called Third World. These women offered a critique of feminism, pointing out that gender was not the sole axis upon which discrimination acted.[14] Intersectionality now connects with feminism of the fourth wave, as issues of homosexuality and transsexuality are brought into the analysis.

Intersectionality puts forward the idea that people belong to different groups at the same time: ethnicity, gender/sex/sexuality, class, nationality/citizenship, ability/body-type and religion. For sociology with direct access to their subjects of study, certain of these categories are more accessible to researchers (sexuality being the most problematic characteristic for historians).[15] The origins of intersectionality in the United States have meant that issues of 'race' (as understood in the USA) have figured large in the articulation of the framework. This has also led to certain assumptions in the analytical framework that are not useful for historians, leading to some heated critique.[16] Even though the idea developed in the United States, where participation in popular religious observance is higher than in Western European countries, the role of religion as a marker of belonging versus outsiderness has been downplayed in much of the sociological writings, for all that historically Black churches in the USA have been *loci* for female empowerment.

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[11] Kimberlé Crenshaw, "Demarginalizing the Intersection of Race and Sex: A Black Feminist Critique of Antidiscrimination Doctrine, Feminist Theory and Antiracist Politics," *University of Chicago Legal Forum* (1989): 139–168 (http://heinonline.org/HOL/LandingPage?handle=hein.journals/uchclf1989&div=10, last accessed 12 May 2025) and "Kimberlé Crenshaw on Intersectionality, More than Two Decades Later," 2017 (https://www.law.columbia.edu/pt-br/news/2017/06/kimberle-crenshaw-intersectionality, last accessed 12 May 2025).

[12] "What is Intersectionality and Why is it Important?" (https://www.globalcitizen.org/en/content/what-is-intersectionality-explained, last accessed 12 May 2025).

[13] Kimberlé Crenshaw, "The urgency of intersectionality" (https://www.ted.com/talks/kimberle_crenshaw_the _urgency_of_intersectionality, last accessed 12 May 2025).

[14] Maxine Baca Zinn and Bonnie Thornton Dill, "Theorizing difference from multiracial feminism," *Feminist Studies* 22 (1996): 321–331; Bell Hooks, *Feminist Theory: from margin to center*, 3rd edition (New York, 2014).

[15] Dion C. Smythe, "In denial: Same-sex desire in Byzantium," in *Desire and Denial*, ed. Liz James (Aldershot, 1999), 139–148.

Unavailable to me in Saudi Arabia, Roland Betancourt published a monograph that overtly engages with the intersectionality of sexuality, gender, race, and religion in Byzantium.[17] In a book of five chapters with introduction and epilogue, Betancourt discusses Mary of Egypt (the repentant prostitute with hair so long in the desert that the narrator was unable to tell whether the hermit was male or female; hair length will return as a theme later in this paper); the sexual consent of the Theotokos; the sexual shaming of Theodora empress-consort to Justinian; 'transgender' monks (these are people born women but who for a variety of reasons join a monastery and life the religious life dressed as men—often therefore assumed to be eunuchs; their various life histories mean that 'transgender' might not be the correct description); a more explicitly queer reading of the images of Doubting Thomas as expressing same-sex desire; and the Ethiopian eunuch encountered by St Philip and converted to Christianity as the nexus of racial and sexual otherness.

When I first began thinking about the 'other', so many years ago, three articles started my thinking about the issue. These three seminal articles point to the differing, though not mutually exclusive ways in which the notion of the 'outsider' or 'stranger' may be approached: Robert S. Lopez's "Foreigners in Byzantium," Evelyne Patlagean's "Byzance, le barbare, l'hérétique et la loi universelle," and Hans-Georg Beck's "Formes de non-conformisme à Byzance."

Dating from ten years before I started my own research, Lopez's article on "Foreigners in Byzantium"[18] considers the stranger and foreigner to Byzantium. In this "sketch of a possible book"[19] (as he puts it), he discusses how one might approach the question of who belongs to Byzantium, and who does not. He develops the idea by saying that the point under discussion is one of citizenship (so the question is really “who were not Byzantines”). Having focused on the idea of ‘citizenship,’ he asks the question: how one might gain such citizenship?[20] Lopez notes that Zachariae von Lingenthal is silent on the idea of Byzantine citizenship, and then suggests that the principle may have worked both ways: citizens paid taxes, so people who paid taxes were citizens and people who did not pay taxes were not citizens.[21] Lopez recognises that this overly legalistic approach cannot be supported by the sources, as only one cadaster survives, and so he appears to abandon it in favour of more traditional ideas of Roman citizenship, maintaining that they still held sway in Byzantium. If one lived within the territory of the empire and lived as a Roman (was enrolled [in the army] or paid taxes), then one was a Roman.[22] This, according to the Romans, and indeed according to Lopez, was the ideal. The frontier was static and rigid; the boundary was known to and recognised by all. However, even in the case of an obvious and physical boundary such as Hadrian’s Wall at the northern reaches of Britannia, more recent scholarship suggests that this was a border zone rather than a singular linear frontier of division between ‘us’ and ‘them.’[23] Ideologically, of course, there was a frontier of the mind: here, on our side, were the Romans, cities, law, and civilisation; there, across the frontier, was under the sway of the barbarians, no laws, no cities, only forest or desert, and so little civilisation that even intelligible language was lacking. Extracting comments about the barbarians from writings by emperors or chroniclers is an easy sport; Lopez comments “we know that the Byzantines came close to the Chinese in looking at foreigners with utter contempt.”[24] Yes, they did; but Byzantine civilisation was not a monolith, and this was not the only attitude towards foreigners or ‘the outsider.’

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[16] These are (a) a determinist or reductionist tendency to see people as demographic categories and not as individuals—Lisa Downing, "The body politic: Gender, the right wing and 'identity category violations'," *French Cultural Studies* 29/4 (2018): 367–377; (b) its use as a tool in opposition to other feminist theories and approaches—Barbara Tomlinson, "To tell the truth and Not Get Trapped: Desire, Distance and Intersectionality at the Scene of Argument," *Signs Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 38/4 (2013): 993–1017; and (c) antisemitism—"Opinion – I'm Glad the Dyke March Banned Jewish Stars," *The New York Times*, 27 June 2017 (https://www.nytimes.com/2017/06/27/opinion/im-glad-the-dyke-march-banned-jewish-stars.html) (last accessed 12 May 2025).

[17] Roland Betancourt, *Byzantine Intersectionality: Sexuality, Gender and Race in the Middle Ages* (Princeton, 2020).

[18] Robert S. Lopez, "Foreigners in Byzantium," in *Bulletin de l'Institut Historique Belge de Rome* 44 [=*Miscellanea Charles Verlinden*] (Brussels, 1974): 341–352; reprinted as paper 14 in *Byzantium and the World Around it: economic and Institutional Relations* (London, 1978).

[19] Lopez, "Foreigners in Byzantium," 352.

Dealing with what foreigners could do in Byzantium, Lopez turns to the merchants or traders. The comparison here with Imperial China seems most apt: “medieval Byzantium, like mandarin China, gradually dulled the edge of its keen merchant

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20 Lopez, “Foreigners in Byzantium,” 341.

21 Lopez, “Foreigners in Byzantium,” 341–342.

22 Thus the Constitutio Antoniniana of Caracalla [Marcus Aurelius Antonius] in 212, according to which anyone living within the boundaries of the Roman Empire was a *de facto* Roman citizen, though this constitution too had a fiscal element, positing that citizens lived within the empire and thus paid taxes. This contrasts with the classical Athenian tradition, where despite lengthy residence in the polis, one remained a resident alien—a φίλος—and nothing more, never moving to the status of citizen. Cf. Dion C. Smythe, “Citizenship and belonging: A view from Byzantium”, in *Citizenship in Antiquity: Civic Communities in the Ancient Mediterranean* edited by Jakub Filonik, Christine Plastow, and Rachel Zelnick-Abramovitz (London, 2023), 707–714.

23 Stephen Johnson, *Hadrian’s Wall* (New York, 2004); David J. Breeze and Brian Dobson, *Hadrian’s Wall,* 4th ed. (London, 2000). The recent views that the wall would have been plastered and then painted white re-enforces the idea that it was a statement of power and control, if not strictly intended to function as a physical fortification.

24 Lopez, “Foreigners in Byzantium,” 342.

and maritime class through a combination of conservatism, *hybris* [sic], and neglect."[25] However, foreign traders came to Byzantium, and residential warehouses or *mitata* were created in the capital to house—and probably to control—them. As Venice moved from being a dependency or colony of sorts to being independent in the late 11th century (and of course Byzantium's nemesis by 1204), the *mitata* of Venice in Constantinople became less a place where the Byzantine authorities could control foreign merchants and more of a compound of expatriates with extra-territorial rights, rights upheld by the representative powers of the Italian trading city-states.

Lopez usefully suggests three lines of attack: foreigners (what I term 'outsiders by ethnicity') should be considered as a group, rather than being split up into their various ethnic sub-groups, as done previously. The focus on fiscal status (did the person pay taxes?) and the legal contrast between citizen and foreigner could be productive if the sources were available, but they are not. Lopez recommends a focus on the words used in the sources to negatively portray *xenoi* (foreigners or strangers—and so the term was also applied to Byzantines who moved from the provinces to Constantinople) and points out that it is easy to find such negative stereotypes in the cultural production of any society.[26]

Patlagean's article[27] switches the focus from Byzantine strangers (outsiders) to 'strange Byzantines' (these are Byzantines with strange beliefs or habits, but also provincials who have moved to the City). She uses sociological ideas of 'the other' to explore Byzantine society and culture, seeking to establish what made it tick. Patlagean's goal therefore is to establish what was "la romanité chrétienne de Byzance."[28] One might assert that this is the goal of all Byzantinists. Patlagean looks at grids of consumption[29] (the French *consummation* contains the word-play on 'consumption' and 'consummation' absent in English). Relying heavily on Mary Douglas's ideas of purity, cleanliness, and dirt,[30] Patlagean presents a quadrant of "other humanities": wild savages, near to beasts; non-Christian barbarians; Christian barbarians; and finally, dualist heretics. Eating meat places one on the grid: meat may be eaten but it should be cooked; only barbarians eat raw meat.[31] Rejecting all meat-eating, however, raises the possibility that one is not a true Christian but rather a dualist heretic. Here we see one of the strongest differences between Byzantium and the concept of intersectionality developed by sociology in the context of modern-day United States and increasingly applied to countries in the developing world. In Byzantium, religion was an important vector in individual and social [self-]conception and understanding.

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[25] Lopez, "Foreigners in Byzantium," 345.

[26] Lopez, "Foreigners in Byzantium," 351–352.

[27] Évelyne Patlagean, "Byzance, le barbare, l'hérétique et la loi universelle," in *Ni Juifs ni Grecs. Entretiens sur le racisme, sous la direction de Léon Poliakov* (Paris, 1978), 81–90; reprinted as paper 15 in *Structure sociale, famille, chrétienté à Byzance* (London, 1981).

[28] Patlagean, "Le Barbare et la loi," 81.

[29] This concern with food in Byzantium has received attention in Caroline Walker Bynum, *Holy Feast and Holy Fast: The Religious Significance of Food to Medieval Women* (Berkeley, 1987).

[30] Patlagean, "Le Barbare et la loi," 81, and note 5 cites Mary Douglas, *Purity and Danger: An Analysis of Concepts of Pollution and Taboo* (London, 1966); See Peter Brown, "Learning and Imagination" in *Society and the Holy in Late Antiquity* (London, 1982), 13 for the acceptance of the utility of Douglas's work in Late Antique and Byzantine Studies.

In contrast to Lopez's article, Patlagean suggests that the outsider may be an insider; indeed, her final conclusion suggests that, paradoxically, the furthest outsider is the greatest insider (monks, whose consumption of meat is heavily restricted though specifically not completely prohibited).[32] Rather than just foreigners, for Patlagean considerations of the Byzantine Outsider or Other must consider the Byzantine heretic. The rules that govern or at least seek to regulate interactions here between the Byzantines and the non-Byzantines are social norms, so not laws that will be found in civil or canon law codes and not the subject of law cases (even if Byzantine sources of such law cases were more helpful than they are). Patlagean presents a sliding scale of 'otherness,' with two mutually exclusive fixed points: the Byzantine One and the Byzantine Other.[33]

Beck's article[34] continues the religious theme begun by Patlagean but begins with the Act of Conformity of the English Elizabethan Settlement. Expanding beyond the specific historical situation of 1558 (Act of Supremacy) and 1559 (Act of Uniformity), Beck identifies the use of ideas of 'conformity' in sociology. What enforces norms of conformity is the consensus of the dominant elite. The difficulty here for historians is that we usually cannot identify these norms directly, and often we think we know who formed the dominant elite but frequently cannot prove it. Even as the conformity of the Elizabethan Settlement found, legal enforcement to conform by attending Easter Communion in the parish church was met with resistance and in English terms, the religious and legal category of non-conformist was born. Attempts at enforcing conformity are met with resistance. Non-conformity may develop into a revolutionary struggle; it may remain as critique of the system with reform as its goal; or, in destabilising Christian terms, it may take the form of a withdrawal from society: "un «depart», une sorte d'anachorèse."[35]

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[31] Tilahun Bejitual Zellelew, "The Semiotics of the 'Christian/Muslim Knife': Meat and Knife as Markers of Religious Identity in Ethiopia," *Signs and Society* 3/1 (2015): 44–70.

[32] Patlagean, "Le Barbare et la loi," 87.

[33] Patlagean, "Le Barbare et la loi," 81. On the notion of grid (if not group) in this context, see also Mary Douglas, *In the Active Voice* (London, 1982), 190–192 and 205–208 and Mary Douglas, *Natural Symbols: Explorations in Cosmology* (London, 1973), 82–84.

[34] Hans-Georg Beck, "Formes de non-conformisme à Byzance," *Bulletin de la Classe des Lettres at de Sciences Morales et Politique,* Académie Royale de Belgique, série 5, 65 (1979): 313–329.

[35] Beck, "Formes de non-conformisme à Byzance," 314.

Beck states bluntly that, following this line of enquiry, we must know “quelles sont les normes de conduite determinantes de la société byzantine.”[36] Were they ‘Roman-political’ or ‘Christian-Orthodox’ or ‘Greek-cultural’? The response at present seems to be that they were all three (Roman, Greek, Christian), or any mixture of the three in infinite combination. Beck posits a “trickle down” for the attitudes of the dominant elite, though without proving this “politics of deference.”[37] But he recognises that the attitudes of the elite and the non-conformists that opposed them will have changed through time. The example that Beck uses for the outer sign of nonconformity in Byzantium is hair-length for men. Hair should not be too long, but the example of the emperor Theophilos (829–842) shows there is a ‘too short.’ In the 1960s it was about hippies (long hair and beards) and skinheads (clean shaven with a ‘number 1’ or ‘number 2’ cut); now it might be the hipsters from Hoxton in London and the ‘natural hair’ arguments in the United States.[38] The general rule in Byzantium seems to have been that hair for men was worn relatively long (perhaps as the buffer layer for armoured helms).[39] Suspicion was aroused only when the hair reached below the shoulders and the man presented a feminine appearance—was this nonconformity or extravagant display?[40] For monks and clergy, short hair indicated too many visits to the barber (shades of the contemporary Covid-19 ‘lock-down hair do’)[41] and therefore an un-Christian concern with personal adornment and ‘care of self.’ Long hair may be an outward sign of worldly extravagance; it may be a sign of assumed asceticism; or it may be a sign of real dissent—revolutionary, reformist, or passive removal from Christian society, either as monk (good) or as heretic (bad).

Taken together, these three articles provided me with the basis for the theoretical approach to study Byzantine outsiders. This theory includes foreigners, and treats them as a common group, not divided into ethnic components. Fiscal considerations might be useful, but the sources are lacking. The stereotype of Byzantium having nothing but distain for foreigners has evidence in the sources, but it is not the whole story; Byzantine attitudes to foreigners are more complicated. My theoretical approach must deal with Byzantine strangers (so external outsiders) but also with ‘strange Byzantines’ (internal outsiders). It perforce must deal with the religious realities of Byzantium, as well as the more traditional views of Roman (or Greek) versus barbarian; and with terms like ‘barbarian’ it must often address questions of language.[42] Overall it is an issue of mentality. We must consider what was the “Christian Romanness of Byzantium” and the dominant elite who formulated, expounded, and disseminated it. Rather than what these outsiders actually were, both Patlagean and Beck focus on the outward and visible signs of dissent recorded by our sources: these were what enabled the sources to portray these individuals as deficient, as outsiders.

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[36] Beck, “Formes de non-conformisme,” 314. To Patlagean, this is her *romanité chrétienne de Byzance*; Patlagean, “Le Barbare et la loi,” 81.

[37] “[C]elles qui calquent les modèles des dirigeants, parce qu’ils désirent eux-même être de leur nombre un jour ou l’autre.” Beck, “Formes de non-conformisme,” 314.

[38] A related issue for men in Byzantium is the question of beards. Prior to the reign of Heraklios in the 7th century, beards were less common; after the reign of the Golden African, it became more usual for ‘entire men’ (i.e. those who were not eunuchs) to sport a beard. In the late 12th century and later, the eunuch declined in popularity as ‘the perfect servant’ and with it the distinction between eunuchs and the ‘bearded’ and the privilege that went with it.

[39] “En gros, on peut dire qu’à Byzance, en general, les cheveux des hommes n’étaient pas tondus à ras.” Beck, “Formes de non-conformisme,” 317. It seems that Theophilos, suffering male-pattern baldness perhaps, ordered all the men to have #1 haircuts.

[40] Beck, “Formes de non-conformisme,” 317. Beck also recounts the story of Phrangopoulos (Beck, “Formes de non-conformisme,” 318–319), whose long hair appeared to cause his molestation of the deacon’s daughter. Parallels exist with Procopios’ description of the hairstyles of the circus factions: *Procopius, The Anecdota or Secret History*, trans. H. B. Dewing, *Procopius 6* (London, 1960), vii:8–10, 78–80; Procopius, *The Secret History*, tr. G. A. Williamson (Harmondsworth, 1966), 72.

[41] See https://www.miamiherald.com/news/coronavirus/article242025651.html (last accessed 12 May 2025).

1 Rule of Threes

Theoretical approaches to the ‘issue’ of Byzantine outsiders come under three headings: (i) approaches relating to our sources-texts; (ii) approaches relating to sociology-anthropology; and (iii) approaches relating to ‘identity politics’ (prostitutes, actors, and tavernkeepers). It serves to consider each of these in turn.

1.1 Approaches Relating to Source-Texts

In part because these considerations are so fundamental to our work and research as historians, it is often the case that these issues are not reviewed ‘in the cold light of day’ and given full consideration. As Byzantinists our source materials are often both textual and material. Other papers in this volume take a more overt art-historical approach, so I shall not venture opinions to be contested here. We are concerned with the meaning of our source-texts. Within the Byzantine context, these sources could be literary, documentary, or legal (using the terms broadly). Whilst other contributors to this volume have followed the ‘legal path,’ in my prior research (having considered using legal sources and rejecting them) I took the path of ‘literary sources.’ The main examples I have used and continue to use are the high-level Atticising texts of middle Byzantine historiography.

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[42] On Anna Komnene’s attitude to Hellenising the tongue of outsider barbarians, see her description of John Italos, Alexiad V, viii.7–8; Leib 2:36–7, 19 and 28. She also describes how, if he was bested in an argument, he would assault and pull the beard of his opponent.

There are many different approaches to literary texts which researchers have found productive. I have found the construct theory of Jakobson's speech-event[43] most useful. It is true that I am clearly a product of my education and *alma mater*: I use theoretical approaches when they help me understand and explain what I think is going on in my sources and what is represented in those sources. We must remain as true as possible to the words of the text on the page, but I have no difficultly in drawing in ideas from different schools of literary criticism when they help in the essential business of explaining our texts.

Jakobson identifies six elements involved in any speech-event (he speaks of an oral speech-event, but it applies equally well to written communication).[44] The three core elements are: originator (speaker, author), text (utterance, communication, the text *als Ding*), and receiver (hearer, audience, readership). These three entities, however, do not exist in a vacuum. There is the occasion (contact) when the communication takes place between the originator and the receiver. All three entities share some common environment that permits the communication to be understood (this could be 'the swirl of Orthodox Christian Roman-ness' that made up Byzantine culture [described by Patlagean *supra*], and which is to an extent a closed book to us). There is the shared code of language and register (rhetoric and word choice) which enables the communication to take place. The six items of the Jakobson speech-event (author, text, audience, occasion, culture, and code) allow analysis where each of the six may be the focus of attention. Different schools of literary criticism have emphasized each item over others. This need not detain us here; the Jakobson speech-event provides a framework to consider the text in depth and in context. It enables us as historians to delve deeper into the meaning of the texts that survive (text survival is a consideration that always underpins our source-criticism, even if it is often not overt and if we rarely discuss the lacunae, i.e. the texts that do not survive, rather than our understanding of the texts that do survive).

We must pay close attention to our sources. As there may be no reality to the 'outsider quality,' we must understand and explain the full intention of the sources—both the author's intention to the extent that it can be retrieved and the linguistic and literary context in which the text was created, was transmitted, and to an extent survives. Few if any sources survive authored by the social outsiders studied in this volume. We look at these people through the lenses of sources written by persons inimical in varying degrees to them. This is the challenge. Is this any different from the 'history written by the victors'? For all that, I remind my readers that my three core texts (Psellos, Komnene, and Choniates) were written by, in effect, 'outsiders,' whose political lives had ended in failure, to echo Enoch Powell's aphorism of 1977, thus giving them the opportunity to write their memoires, justification, and analyses (the three works in question are varying combinations of these types, as well as purporting to be 'histories' in the Classical Greek tradition of historiography).[45]

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[43] Terence Hawkes, *New Accents: Structuralism and Semiotics* (London, 1977), 83, citing Roman Jakobson, "Closing Statement: linguistics and poetics," in *The Structuralists: From Marx to Levi-Strauss*, eds. Richard T. de George and M. Fernande (New York, 1972), 353.

[44] Jakobson, "Closing Statement," 353.

We seek to establish 'as it really was' (a good German historical tag for a paper prepared for Vienna). This means careful attention to what our sources say and how they say it both lexically and rhetorically. There is no simple checklist we can use to establish the 'correct reading.' What is clear, however, are some basic ground rules. The sources do not speak for themselves; we must articulate them and work out what they say, more importantly what they mean, and why they say it in that particular way. We cannot use our sources as 'quarries'; a quick and dirty search in TLG for instances of the terms we think denote our prostitutes, actors, and tavernkeepers results only in a quick and dirty history. Full-blown analysis of signified and signifier may lead us too far from the historical realities, but we must pay full attention to what is said in our sources, how it is said, and what it really means. This is the hard work of history. It means treating texts (our sources) seriously.[46]

1.2 Sociological Approaches

Considerations of Byzantine society, even (or especially) in Constantinople, the large-scale imperial capital, requires a sociological approach, rather than those derived from social anthropology. This suggests a *Gesellschaft* rather than a *Gemeinschaft* society, to use Tönnies's terms. Thinking about it more deeply, however, the educated, articulated elite of Byzantium may have formed a small, interrelated 'village community', embedded within the metropolitan society.

Much of the sociological writing and theorizing about the outcast, the outlaw, or the outsider derives from work done in the United States in the years immediately following the end of the Second World War (for the USA, 1941–45). An underlying current of thought was the desire to return to the social situation before the war; there had been disruption and dislocation of lives and communities, with men joining up to serve in the forces and women joining the work force (the so-called 'Rosie the Riveter' effect). Sociologists in the United States were charged—overtly or implicitly by the government agencies funding research—with discovering why the dislocation continued, why people maintained their dislocated state and rejected the return to the *status quo ante*. This is not to say of course that all the demobbed soldiers, sailors, and airmen refused to return to their home-towns; but a significant percentage did not, and they were joined by a percentage of the women who had broken free from the constraints of small-town, mid-western life (these characterisations are broad-sweep and stereotypes but, as with all stereotypes, they contain some grains of truth). The theories in vogue then (in the late 1940s and 1950s) postulated that 'something' had happened to the actors involved (those who had gone off to war or work and opted to refuse to return to their situations *ante bellum*); the job of sociologists was to find the aetiologies of this 'deviant' behaviour and to cure them, to allow and encourage a return to 'the old normal.' The focus was on those seen to be 'abnormal,' those rejecting the social norms or those rejected by 'normal society' who in the dislocation of wartime had found new ways to be themselves. The failure of the 1950s attempt in the United States at a return to a largely mythical 'golden age' of stay-at-home wives living in high-consumer suburban sub-divisions with white picket fences, and the rise of the 1960s counter-culture (and to an extent that counter-culture becoming 'main-stream') raised questions in the minds of researchers about why some actions breaking norms invited sanctions, whilst others—apparently of similar weight—were ignored or at times even lauded. This division did not existed only in the United States nor only in the 1950s. 'Blue-collar theft,' the theft of materials, tools, or time from the factory-floor or 'the job,' was and to a large extent still is regarded as a crime worthy of summary dismissal from employment; 'white-collar crime'—siphoning off funds from the books to private accounts, or 'liberating' office supplies—is not treated with the same severity. Further, the sentencing and penalties are not commensurate: blue-collar crimes carry incarceration sentences; white-collar criminals are often sentenced to open prisons or non-custodial penalties.

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[45] Herbert Hunger, *Die Hochsprachliche Profane Literatur der Byzantiner* (Munich, 1978), vol. 1, 377; Cyril Mango, *Byzantium: The Empire of New Rome* (London, 1980), 245.

[46] Margaret Alexiou, "Literary Subversion and the Aristocracy in Twelfth-Century Byzantium: A Stylistic Analysis of the Timarion (ch.6–10)," *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* 8 (1982–83): 29–45; Ruth Macrides and Paul Magdalino, "The architecture of ekphrasis: construction and context of Paul the Silentiary's poem on Hagia Sophia," *BMGS* 12 (1988): 47–82; Margaret E. Mullett, "Dancing With Deconstructionists in the Gardens of the Muses: New Literary History vs?," *BMGS* 14 (1990): 258–275.

Even when the 'norm-breaking' is not criminal, there were different responses to contravention of the norms. This is changing now (eighty years later), but still in Western society there is a complex of negative associations around having and displaying a tattoo. The 'biker gangs' that arose on the coasts of the US after the wars in the 1940s (WWII), 1950s (Korea), and 1960s (Vietnam) have now disappeared or have been transformed into something very different, but there remains a degree of American antipathy to the 'biker' (motorcyclist), who is somehow regarded as an 'outlaw', even though the only 'unAmerican activity' is the choice of the motorbike over the motorcar.

The crucial development here comes from ideas around Becker's view of the 'outsider.'[47] Described as "not a theory in the full-blown sociological sense", it focuses on the relational aspect of the status of 'outsider.' 'Outsiders' (those individuals cast into the outsider role) are needed by the dominant elites of societies to bolster and re-enforce the 'in-group' sense of the dominant culture; 'we' become 'we' by having an 'other' or outgroup (you, they) against which to contrast ourselves. The most significant part of Becker's view is that the outsiders themselves need not have done anything to be cast into the outsider role, nor indeed do they need to 'be' anything, i.e. to have any essential characteristic that defines them as individuals. Outsider status is ascribed to them unrelated to any essential characteristics or any actions, and they must live with the consequences dictated by the dominant élite. The Becker 'theory' provides three elements: there is nothing intrinsic to the outsider; the outsider role is dictated by the dominant elite of the society; the outsider role is most important as a way of policing and re-enforcing the boundaries of any society—it is the way 'people like us' are separated from 'people *not* like us.'

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[47] Howard S. Becker, *Outsiders: Studies in the Sociology of Deviance*, 2nd ed. (New York, 1973), 9; see also Erich Goode, "On Behalf of Labeling Theory," *Social Problems* 22 (1974–1975): 570a–571b; John Hagan, "Labelling and Deviance: A Case Study in the 'Sociology of the Interesting'," *Social Problems* 20 (1972–1973): 447b–448a; and Alexander Liazos, "The Poverty of the Sociology of Deviance: Nuts, Sluts and Preverts [sic]," *Social Problems* 20 (1972–1973): 103–120.

The large volume of 'literary' sources from Byzantium coupled with the fact that there is no intrinsic quality of 'outsiderness' attributable to those individuals in our sources who are cast into the outside role means that there is a large number of possible 'outsiders' in the sources. Therefore, it is necessary to attempt some categorization to manage the richness. I stress again that this is a strategy to manage the phenomena in our sources, not one that has real descriptive meaning in the real world. I have devised four categories of analysis for outsiders: outsiders by ethnicity, outsiders by religion, outsiders by gender, and outsiders by *taxis*.[48]

Looking at foreigners, barbarians created the first category: 'outsiders by ethnicity'. All the different ethnicities identified by the Byzantine writers can be placed together here, up to and including 'barbarians.' Whilst in Classical Athens the categories of 'citizen' and 'barbarian' may have been binary opposites, it is clear that the Byzantine understanding of ethnic difference existed on a spectrum that changed with time. All barbarians were equally non-Byzantine, but some barbarians were more equal than others, and that specific position changed for specific ethnicities in specific times.

Outsiders by religion covers difference between pagans and Christians in the early period; between Christians and Muslims (whether Arabs or Turks) for all the contacts with Islam; between Christians and the resident Romaniote Jews of the Byzantine Empire; with Western Christians increasingly distinct after 1056 and the Great Schism; as well as other non-Chalcedonian Christianities to the East, and finally the various heresies with which Byzantium contended (often cast into the mould of the familiar dualist heresies known from Mani onwards). Ascribing dualist heretical beliefs was an easy and frequently-used way for Byzantine authors to discredit someone.

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[48] By *taxis* I mean social and economic position. Social advancement in Byzantium was by education. Acquiring an education required access to funds, either from one's family or from a patron. I have decided to use *taxis* rather than 'class' to avoid confusion with the term as used in Marxist analysis; for fuller explanation, see Dion C. Smythe, "Outsiders by *Taxis*: Perceptions of Non-conformity in Eleventh- and Twelfth-Century Literature," in *Conformity and Non-Conformity in Byzantium*, ed. Lynda Garland, Byzantinische Forschungen 24 (Amsterdam, 1997), 229–250.

The issue of gender as a marker of outsiderness should not be unexpected. Though numerically a raw majority, still the limitations and restrictions placed on women in Byzantium reduced women's opportunities, as the focus of this volume clearly implies. Additionally, within Byzantium the gender system was not binary—at least not totally. To describe eunuchs as a 'third sex' (or gender) is to overstate the Byzantine understanding; the Byzantines knew of and used eunuchs, but largely they saw them as men, even if as 'different men.'[49]

The fourth category is outsiders by *taxis*. By using this category, I have sought to account for material wealth as a means of access to education. Initially, I did not intend it to mean 'class' in the Marxist sense, hence the neologism. Social mobility in Byzantium was controlled by education. To gain more than the basic education—i.e. to have access to the education that would confer social mobility—required money to pay for education, which would probably require relocation to Constantinople (except for the study of law, which could be undertaken in Beirut in the Late Antique/Early Byzantine period). It could be achieved by gaining a patron, of course, and this is how many non-elite Byzantines joined the elite.

These categories of analysis are exactly and merely that: categories for analysis. When linked to specific real Byzantines in our sources, they are all problematic. They are not and cannot be absolute. As mentioned earlier, Theodora, wife of Justinian, would be an outsider by gender because she was a woman. But as the consort of the *autokrator* she was clearly an insider and privy to the secret deliberations at the highest levels—as recorded by Procopios. In part, for the Theodora known to us from Procopios, this is the problem; Procopios, in his treatment of Theodora in *The Secret History*, clearly felt that there was something 'wrong' (unRoman, unByzantine) in a woman having such power over Byzantine men. The same is true for Psellos describing the personal rule of Zoe and Theodora.[50] Having denounced the reign of Michael V,[51] Psellos continues by describing the joint reign of the women in very positive terms.[52] It seems, at least to me, only that after painting such a glowing portrait of rule as it should be that Psellos suddenly realises what he has done and begins to back-track in a serious way. They ruled, but they ought not to have done, and their officials realised that their actions had to be above reproach, not because it was the right thing to do but because they knew that there would be a reckoning of their conduct when once again the reins of power were in the hands of a male *basileus*.[53] The category of outsider by gender ('woman') is problematic because it may be combined with other statuses that belong clearly to the inside elite. This is the very issue that intersectionality seeks to address in analysis. Anna Komnene was certain of her own insider status as the first-born porphyrogenite of the legally married couple Alexios Komnenos and Eirene Doukaina (Anna stresses the legality of her parents' marriage in *The Alexiad*, so it appears to have been a current issue for her).[54] She expected to succeed her father as first-born child and as wife of the Caesar Constantine Doukas. Constantine died, of course; John Komnenos was born; Anna's marriage to Nikephoros Bryennios took her too far from the charmed inner circle. Her brother's succession and her botched *coup d'état* resulted in her house arrest in the Theotokos Kecharitomene monastery (nunnery) founded by her mother as a retirement home for distressed gentlewomen. Anna Komnene began her life as a charmed insider, acclaimed along with her betrothed as the heirs to the emperor. Changes in her life's course and then her actions in seeking to supplant her brother resulted in her exclusion from power and influence, as she was left scratching a pen in the guttering lamp light.

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[49] Kathryn M. Ringrose, *The Perfect Servant: Eunuchs and the Social Construction of Gender in Byzantium* (Chicago, 2003); Kathryn M. Ringrose, "Living in the shadows: eunuchs and gender in Byzantium," in *Third Sex, Third Gender*, ed. Gilbert Herdt (New York, 1994), 85–109; Shaun F. Tougher, "Byzantine Eunuchs: An overview with special reference to their creation and origin," in *Women, Men and Eunuchs: Gender in Byzantium*, ed. Liz James (London, 1997), 168–184; Shaun Tougher, "The Aesthetics of Castration: The Beauty of Roman Eunuchs," in *Castration and Culture in the Middle Ages*, ed. Larissa Tracy (Cambridge, 2013), 48–72; Shaun Tougher, *The Eunuch in Byzantine History and Society* (London, 2008); Shaun Tougher, "Eunuchs in the East, Men in the West? Dis/unity, Gender and Orientalism in the Fourth Century," in *East and West in the Roman Empire of the Fourth Century An End to Unity?*, eds. Roald Dijkstra, Sanne van Poppel, and Daniëlle Slootjes (Leiden, 2015), 147–163; Shaun Tougher, "Two Views on the Gender Identity of Byzantine Eunuchs," in *Changing Sex and Bending Gender*, eds. Alison Shaw and Shirley Ardener (New York, 2005), 60–73.

[50] *Chron.*V, 26, ed. Renauld, 1, p. 117–178.

[51] *Chron.*V, 15, ed. Renauld, 1. p. 95.

I stress here that these four categories of analysis are porous and not distinct one from another. It is possible to be assigned to more than one category at a time, and in the course of one's life (or even in the course of one's appearance in one particular source) an individual may move from one category to another or through a multiplicity of combinations of sources. It is not neat and tidy. The categories may change as the career line of the individual develops, as was the case of John Axouch, the son of a Muslim captive who became John Komnenos's childhood companion, and who—when the emperor was planning on giving all his sister's estates to Axouch—proved himself to be more Byzantine or family-minded than either John (as *autokrator* and *basileus* the archetype Byzantine) or Anna.[55] In addition to the personal histories of the individuals, however, the particular needs of the narrative accounts can also determine the roles into which groups of characters are cast. It is important to remember that though they appear ‘real’ in the sources, these categories are constructs, either by the authors or by us, as we who attempt to interpret completely and fully the categories of outsiderness.

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[52] *Chron.*V, 26, ed. Renauld, 1, p. 117, lines 3–6.

[53] *Chron.*V 26, ed. Renauld, 1, p.117, lines 2–6, faithful; 1, p. 117–118, lines 7–11, fearful that they will be called to account.

[54] *Kata nomou* in *Alexiad* II vii 7; Leib 1, p. 87, line 17; Sewter, 91 for Alexios and Eirene; *Alexiad* Prooimion iii 1; Leib 1:5,8; Sewter, 18 for Anna and Nikephoros Bryennios. These are two mentions out of twenty-six uses of the word "law" in the *Alexiad* (laws of God, laws of the church, law of history), so it is unwise to construct too heavy an edifice. It should be noted that when Alexios moved to the Great Palace after the coup, he resided in the Boukoleon, whilst Eirene (aged only 15) remained in the lower palace with her sisters, her mother, and her paternal grandfather, the Kaiser John Doukas: Alexiad III, i 5; Leib 1, p. 105, lines 20–24; Sewter, 105.

Just as there are four categories of outsider, so sociological theory suggests that there are five modes of interaction between groups within society: annihilation (the infamous war of all against all); segregation (the enforced separation of distinct social groups; in the Early Modern Period following the example of Venice this would be the ghetto; in the Medieval period—either East or West—it is more the self-selecting congregation of similar groups in certain streets and alleys [Coppersmiths’ Quarter, the booksellers, the Jewry]);[56] stratification: placing certain outsider groups in perpetually inferior social positions; assimilation: absorbing outsider groups into the mainstream society so that they disappear (traditionally the American melting-pot model); and finally, pluralism: no distinction in rights and no penalties, but the groups remain distinct.[57] As with the categories of outsider, these five categories of interaction are not mutually exclusive.

All are found within Byzantium in the 11th and 12th centuries, though the ‘war of all against all’ is found on the battlefield, whilst pluralism is less well-developed, though in the religious accommodations for the Anglo-Saxons of the Varangian Guard in Constantinople, using their own liturgy in their own church, it appears to have at least one standard-bearer. And specific groups of outsiders could and did move from one category to another. Sometimes this appeared to be an upward trajectory, but on other occasions there would be back-tracking, perhaps in response to political affairs in the wider world. The matrix of four-by-five (outsider categories of by ethnicity, religion, gender, and *taxis* by the five interaction types) allows us to manage and analyse the various interactions between Byzantine elites and social outsider groups.

The Madrid Skylitzes manuscript is the unique survival of an illustrated (with 574 images) middle Byzantine history or chronicle.[58] The text survives in about twenty manuscripts and is itself not outstanding. It is a ‘profane’ history, in that it deals with Byzantine history from 811 to 1057, i.e. it a self-conceived continuation of Theophanes the Confessor, rather than a ‘sacred history’ beginning with the Creation and working through biblical history to contemporary events.[59] Compared with Psellos, Komnene, or Choniates, Skylitzes shares more ‘chronicle-like’ features than full-blown literary history, the claims in his *proiomion* to value objectivity over *enkomion* and *psogos* (though obviously he knows these terms and their place in ‘history’) and to avoid painting in only black (bad/negative) or white (good/positive) notwithstanding.[60] Events tend to follow in chronological sequence, with a jumble of significant and trivial events. The text is thin on motivation and lacks the ‘thick description’ of Psellos, Komnene, or Choniates. The main part of the text was composed in the 1070s, with a continuation, covering 1057–1079, added after 1100 when Ioannes Skylitzes retired from public life.[61] There are problems with using the illuminated Madrid Skylitzes, not least because it may be an ‘outsider’ production made in Sicily, possibly in Messina in the monastic workshops of San Salvatore with ‘Greek hands’ and ‘Italian hands’ in the third quarter of the 12th century, rather than in Constantinople.

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[55] Niketas Choniates, *Historia*, ed. van Dieten, p. 11, lines 81–84.

[56] In the case of the tanners, this segregation was sometimes enforced because of the noxious effluent attached to their profession; the argument still rages over whether Jews were *required* to live in certain areas of Constantinople, or whether there was a desire among them for close proximity.

[57] Brewton Berry and Henry L. Tischler, *Race and Ethnic Relations*, 4th ed. (Boston, 1978), 91.

[58] Ioannes Skylitzes, *Synopsis Istorion*, Codex Vitr. 26–2 National Library, Madrid. André Grabar and Manoussos Manoussacas, *L’illustration du manuscript de Skylizes de la bibliothèque nationale de Madrid*, Bibliothèque de l’institut hellénique d’études byzantines et post-byzantines de Venise 10 (Venice, 1979); Vasiliki Tsamakda, *The Illustrated Chronicle of Ioannes Skylitzes in Madrid* (Leiden, 2002), esp. 5–7 and 17; Elena Boeck, *Imagining the Byzantine Past: The Perception of History in the Illustrated Manuscripts of Skylitzes and Manasses* (Cambridge, 2015).

Folio 208v shows an interaction between two of the possible outsider categories: a Byzantine woman and Varangian barbarians in a single cartoon strip of two frames.[62] The left image on folio 208v shows the first dramatic action of the story. A rather ‘fine figure of a woman’ is shown killing a prone man with a spear. The woman is demurely dressed in a long, long-sleeved tunic, with a pale blue overmantel and a red veil but without jewels or signs of status. She has speared (rather decisively and effectively, it has to be said) a heavily-bearded man. The dying man (bleeding profusely from the wound to his right lung) is dressed in a rust-coloured tunic that comes to his knees and dark brown leggings or boots. He has dark-brown hair and a full beard. The image shows what is happening (the woman killing the man) but the caption is required to explain how things have come to such a dramatic pass. The inscription reads: “the woman, attacked by a barbarian and killing him.” On the right, the dramatic narrative is concluded in the second picture. The same woman—at least she is dressed in the same clothes—is shown facing and accepting bundles from a group of men who are dressed in a similar fashion to the dying man of the previous image. They, too, have full beards and good heads of dark brown hair all heavily bearded and like the original antagonist rather ‘shaggy’ in their hairstyles.[63] The inscription here reads: “The Varangians give the assaulted woman all of the goods of the attacker.”[64] The Skylitzes text provides a fuller explanation:

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[59] Herbert Hunger, *Die hochsprachliche profane Literature der Byzantiner,* vol. 1: *Philosophie, Rhetorik, Epistolographie, Geschichtsschreibung, Geographie* (Munich, 1978), 389; Tsamakda, *Illustrated Skylitzes in Madrid*, 5 and 22–23.

[60] Hunger, *Die hochsprachliche profane Literature,* 390.

[61] Tsamakda, *Illustrated Skylitzes in Madrid*, 22–23.

[62] Assigned to the ‘western’ group painter B1: Tsamakda, *Illustrated Skylitzes in Madrid*, 234 and 389.

[63] Kathleen Corrigan, *Visual Polemics in the Ninth-Century Byzantine Psalters* (Cambridge, 1992), especially for the discussion of the portrayal of John the Grammarian in the Khludov Psalter, where the identification is made between iconoclasts and those who crucified Christ. The Patriarch John the Grammarian is shown with an impressive if unruly punk hair-do.

> In that same year [1034] something else worthy of note took place. There were some Varangians dispersed in the Thrakesian theme for the winter. One of the Varangians, coming across a woman of the region in the wilderness alone, put the quality of her virtue to the test. When persuasion failed he resorted to violence, but she seized his Persian-type short sword, struck the barbarian in the heart, and promptly killed him. When the deed became known in the surrounding area, the Varangians held an assembly and crowned the woman, presenting her with all the goods of the violator, whom they threw aside, unburied according to the law concerning assassins.[65]

Image and text make clear what is going on; this is Byzantium’s ‘#metoo’ moment. The woman is not named in the text; she is merely “a certain woman of southern Hellas.” I intentionally chose this portrayal of a woman from near the bottom of the Byzantine social hierarchy. Out walking in the fields, she is accosted by the single man, who attempts to rape her. She, with great presence of mind, wrests his spear (or sword) from him (for he is a soldier) and stabs him in the chest, and he dies. The group of men in the second frame are his squad-mates, but they are having nothing to do with what he did. Rather than seeking vengeance for his death, they tumbled his corpse into a ditch without the benefit of Christian burial. His buddies further gather together all his possessions and present them to the woman as blood-money. The Varangian attempted to do her wrong by assaulting her virtue; she protected herself, even using his weapon against him.[66] The Anglo-Saxon soldiers, known for bravery and loyalty, recognised the virtue of the unnamed woman. Neither the single Varangian nor the group of Varangians are shown armed, especially not with the ‘double-headed axe’ which was said to be their weapon of choice in the 11th and 12th centuries. Interestingly, though the text mentions the Persian-type sword the woman used to kill the assaulting Varangian, the artist has provided her with a rather more likely long spear with which to dispatch her assailant. In their publication of the manuscript, Grabar and Manoussacas remark that the image displays “type physique particulier des Varangues.”[67] This “particular type” is difficult to establish. The barbarians or

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[64] Tsamakda, *Illustrated Skylitzes in Madrid*, 234.

[65] *Skyltizes*, ed. Thurn, p. 394, lines 70–77, There may be some play on words as ‘crowned’ carries connotations of being married. Something might be said about the use of the word “crowned” for what the Varangians did to the woman of virtue.

[66] The text speaks of a short Persian sword, but the images have spears. A possible ‘queer reading’ presents itself here: the woman used his weapon (his spear) against his attempt to use his weapon (his penis) against her.

For a similar play on words, see the bag and staff of Basil the Macedonian, discussed in Shaun Tougher, “Michael III and Basil the Macedonian: just good friends?,” in *Desire and denial in Byzantium*, ed. Liz James (Aldershot, 1999), 149–158.

[67] Grabar and Manoussacas, *L’illustration du manuscript*, 107. Tsamakda states: “The artist in an attempt to distinguish the Varangians from the other nations, gave them a curiously swarthy facial appearance, instead of a fair complexion.” Tsamakda, *Illustrated Skylitzes in Madrid*, 234.

Varangians are shown with long straight noses (but then, so do most other people in the illuminations). Their hair is dark—much darker than the pigment used for 'normal' Byzantines—but not particularly long, and their beards are full and untrimmed. However, without the benefit of the captions, these 'Varangian' barbarians—in this period from Scandinavia or England—could be any barbarian mercenaries.

What I wish to stress here is that even in the visual realm, when one would assume that it was easy to see 'difference,' difference is not absolute but made manifest by comparison: not 'these are outsiders and they look different' but 'these are outsiders because they look different from people like us—the insiders.' And the difference is not absolute. The Varangians were mercenaries, and so were 'almost Byzantines—but not quite.' Their actions—as a squad, though obviously not the actions of the one—were honourable and laudable. They lived within the empire and served the emperor; they acted as honourable Romans should. The woman, by contrast, was a Byzantine, but so lowly so as not really to count. However, though a lowly woman she possessed the male quality of *andreia*, "bravery," a quality that Anna Komnene was at some great pains to impute to her own mother Eirene Doukaina. So outsider women, whether the lowest of the low (so low as to lack a name) or the helpmeet of the best of emperors (so no real outsider), shared in the same laudable quality. Now clearly Anna Komnene's praise of her own mother and wife of her father had a different agenda than Skylitzes's recording of a little short story about goings-on in the provinces—a story that may serve rather as light relief. Certainly, this is a personal interpretation, but the detailed reading required to work out what is going on in relation to outsiders in these literary texts forces an ever-closer engagement with the sources and what they might or could mean. For historians, this is only to our benefit.

The Madrid Skylitzes is unique and is worthy of study for its singularity. However, its provenance from outside the Byzantine Empire and the presence of five 'western group' artists from a total of seven means that it cannot be regarded unequivocally as a statement of 'Byzantine culture.' The variance between what is said in the text, what is said in the captions, and what is said in any labels in the illustrations shows that the interrelationship between the texts (Skylitzes, additional Byzantine historical texts, the titles and any labels) and the image are anything but straight forward. Suggested origins for the manuscript are also complex. Tsamakda postulates a lost Constantinopolitan model, fashioned at 1118 to allow for material from Zonoras to be incorporated. She adds an intermediate copy produced in Norman Southern Italy. She suggests there may have been additional illuminated manuscripts of Psellos and Zonoras, none of which survives and of which there are no mentions in the sources. Beck's thesis is of a unique creation in Palermo. The Madrid Skyltizes lets us see how some of Byzantine 'outsiders' may have been represented, but it does not provide a structure or methodology for examining the idea of Byzantine social outsiders in a more rigorous way. I went looking for outsiders in the Madrid Skylitzes with my four categories (ethnicity, gender, religion, and *taxis*) already in mind. For the period under discussion, it was easy to find outsiders by ethnicity, by gender, and by class;

examples of 'outsiders' by religion (primarily the iconoclasts) and by orientation (arguably, at least, with Basil I and John the son of Danielis undergoing *adelphopoiia*) can be found elsewhere in the manuscript.[68]

The hidden hand in all of this are the elites (it is probably best to think of more than one elite: the warrior-aristocracy, the educated lawyer bureaucrats, the secular clergy, and the monastic clergy. Cheynet's analysis of power and rebellions has shown that there was no "civil aristocracy" in competition with a "military aristocracy."[69] We cannot define the elite or elites of Byzantium. Similarly, we cannot define or isolate the mentalities of those elites. However, it is certain that there were shades of meaning as the culture and norms was articulated by various authors of the surviving literary sources. One problem is, of course, that they did not think that they were writing an exposition of the mentality of the dominant elite, and so this mentality has to be garnered from between the lines, not read explicitly. Almost inevitably the authors ensure they themselves are included within the dominant elite. How the elites implemented the norms that enforced these notions of outsider and insider is really unknown. We do not really understand these various processes in our own society, so it is little surprise that Byzantine norms are closed to us.

My studies involve the high-level literary productions from the top of metropolitan society. This volume seeks to address any counter-cultures that developed at the bottom of society. Actresses, tavernkeepers, and prostitutes were seen as occupying the lowest levels of society—little better than the barbarians who would be excluded from Byzantine society. But the life of St. Mary of Egypt, even if not of St. Mary Magdalene, treated in another paper in this volume, shows that by redemption even prostitutes could rise to the pinnacle of Byzantine society. But what of counter-culture's production? I think 'literary' productions or even written texts using less 'high-flown' Greek than the 'Atticising' Greek of the histories, written by people from the lowest levels of society (the actresses, tavernkeepers and prostitutes) are unlikely (though never say 'never'). Small-scale material evidence might be a more productive area to investigate—amulets, perhaps, or pottery vessels or shards. Foucault theorises that any force emanating from the top of society will be met by an equal and opposite vector of resistance. Our search therefore should be engaged in finding evidence of those vectors. Such counter or sub-cultures normally exist to provide recognition (of self) and protection. They are exceptionally difficult to recognise in our contemporary societies; it may be impossible to recognise them in Byzantium. The counsel is probably that we should be on the look out for them, more in hope than expectation.

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[68] For example, Theophilos, iconoclasts and iconodules Grabar and Manoussacas, *L'illustration du manuscript de Skylizes*, 43 and figure 44 (folio 49a); and for Danielis, her son John, Basil I and adelphopoiia, see Grabar and Manoussacas, *L'illustration du manuscript de Skylizes*, 59 and figure 88 (folio 85).

[69] J.-C. Cheynet, *Pouvoir et contestation à Byzance 963–1250* (Paris, 1990).

2 Conclusion

Migrants surround us. Assimilation to the culture of the dominant elite represents one strand, pluralism with the acceptance and valuing of difference another. There are vectors of resistance: the traditions and habits of the religion in the old country should be maintained; the historical development of the society has embedded structural racism and people protest that 'Black Lives Matter' (and this in turn prompts a slew of counter-resistance that 'Blue Lives Matter' and 'White Lives Matter'). These are issues in our societies today. Does Byzantium provide an example of how human societies attempted to deal with these problems in the past? The answer, I think, is 'yes.'

Yet we must be very aware of the historical specificity of the Byzantine examples. However, we may look at how the Byzantines can be seen to have divided their outsiders up into categories. We may use the four-by-five-fold analysis to see how the Byzantines tried to interact and use the same types to model how modern societies do or might treat interactions with outsiders. Does Byzantium provide the answer? No, it does not. Is there only one viable answer? That too is most unlikely. As Cyril Mango tells us, the Byzantines often would begin with the Homeric questions: "Who are you and where are you from?"[70] Such questions are very familiar to Black people or ethnic minorities in the UK: "Like everyone with an immigrant background, I have often been asked where I am from. On giving the correct answer – London, England – I am met with the inevitable follow-up. Where are you from originally?"[71]

Sometimes in response to this negative reception, people assert that only they can tell their own history: so only Orthodox Christians can explain the history of Orthodox monasticism; only ethnic Greeks can adequately explain the medieval history of Greece that is Byzantium. This runs counter, however, to the whole concept of historical empathy; we seek to understand and explain.

This volume identifies three sub-groups of outsiders: tavernkeepers, actors, and prostitutes. We may deal with these three sub-groups, but we must always retain the idea that they overlap as categories (most especially that actors and tavernkeepers may have also been assumed to have been prostitutes) and also that there are other categories of outsider with which they should be considered in analysis. I have dealt with the question of whether they would have had self-generated writings or 'tellings' that expressed their own sub-cultures. I suspect that they would have done, but that it may have been oral not written down. If it did exist, then it seems not to have come down to us. It is impossible for us to articulate their own sub-culture as they saw, experienced, and expressed it. Byzantium does provide an example—an example rather than a model though—of how one society in the past has grappled with the interaction with outsiders, both true foreigners migrating into the metropolitan heartland from abroad, but also these ‘strange others,’ people who are clearly ‘people like us’ but who in surprising ways are *not* like us when they move from the provinces to Constantinople. We have before us an example of a complex society with a major urban metropolitan centre that managed the interactions with outsider groups in different ways. The past is a foreign country. We cannot follow Byzantium as a model; however, it provides an example that we can learn from carefully and rigorously, understanding our sources clearly and fully, and finally explaining our findings clearly to our fellow citizens.

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[70] Cyril Mango, *Byzantium: The Empire of New Rome* (London, 1980), 3.

[71] Rafael Behr, *Politics: A Survivor's Guide* (London, 2023), 45.

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Part 2: **Prostitutes**

Charis Messis

Prostitution and Marginality in Byzantium

> Ποίην τις πρὸς ἔρωτας ἴοι τρίβον; ἐν μὲν ἀγυιαῖ μαχλάδος οἰμώξεις χρυσομανῆ σπατάλην.[1]
>
> By what road shall one go to the Land of Love? If you seek him in the streets, you will repent the courtesan’s greed for gold and luxury.

1 Introduction

Examining the relationship between prostitution and marginality in Byzantium is a difficult task that raises more problems than can be resolved in a single contribution such as this one, which aims to present only certain aspects of this polymorphic issue. Neither area is well studied for Byzantium. We lack a social history of prostitution[2] like those written for antiquity,[3] and studies on marginality remain embryonic. With regard to prostitution, scholarship is typically limited to its legal or literary aspects, while the confusing Byzantine terminology sometimes leads to serious misunder-

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[1] Agathias, *Poems*, V.302, ed. and trans. William Paton, *The Greek Anthology* (London, 1916), I:290–291.

[2] For the early Byzantine period there is a fairly extensive bibliography: Hans Herter, “Dirne,” *Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum* 3 (1957): 1190–1204; Stavroula Leontsini, *Die Prostitution im frühen Byzanz*, Dissertationen der Universität Wien 194 (Vienna, 1989); Claudine Dauphin, “Bordels et filles de joie: la prostitution en Palestine byzantine,” in *ΕΥΨΥΧΙΑ: Mélanges offerts à Hélène Ahrweiler* (Paris, 1998), 177–194; Kyle Harper, *From Shame to Sin: The Christian Transformation of Sexual Morality in Late Antiquity* (Cambridge, 2013); Gary Leiser, *Prostitution in the Eastern Mediterranean World: The Economics of Sex in the Late Antique and Medieval Middle East* (London, 2017); for the middle and late Byzantine periods, Phaidon Koukoules, *Βυζαντινῶν Βίος καὶ Πολιτισμός*, 6 vols. (Athens, 1948–1956), 2:117–162; Johannes Irmscher, “Die Bewertung der Prostitution im byzantinischen Recht,” in *Gesellschaft und Recht im griechishen-rômischen Altertum*, eds. Mihail Andreev et al. (Berlin, 1969), 77–94; Johannes Irmscher, “Η πορνεία στο Βυζάντιο,” in *Πρακτικά του Α΄ Διεθνούς Συμποσίου: Η καθημερινή ζωή στο Βυζάντιο: τομές και συνέχειες στην ελληνιστική και ρωμαϊκή παράδοση* (Athens, 1989), 253–258; for the entire Byzantine period, see now the very useful survey of Avishalom Laniado, “L’empereur, la prostitution et le proxénétisme – droit Romain et morale chrétienne à Byzance,” in *Le prince chrétien de Constantin aux royautés barbares (IVe–VIIIe siècle)*, eds. Sylvain Destephen, Bruno Dumézil, and Hervé Inglebert, *TM* 22/2 (2018): 49–97, and the very important contribution of Despoina Ariantzi, “Byzantinische Prostituierte. Zwischen Marginalisierung und Reintegration in die Gesellschaft,” *Byz* 91 (2021): 1–45.

[3] See for ancient Greece (I quote the most recent publications) Konstantinos Kapparis, *Prostitution in the Ancient Greek World* (Berlin, 2018); for Rome, see Thomas McGinn, *Prostitution, Sexuality, and the Law in Ancient Rome* (Oxford, 1998); Thomas McGinn, *The Economy of Prostitution in the Roman World. A Study of Social History and the Brothel* (Ann Arbor, 2004); for Ottoman Constantinople, see Marinos Sariyannis, “Prostitution in Ottoman Istanbul, Late Sixteenth – Early Eighteenth Century,” *Turcica* 40 (2008): 37–65.

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standings. With regard to marginality, discussion is dominated by the effort of scholars to examine the boundaries between conformity and non-conformity and to point out the tensions between the realities of secular society and Christian teaching on the one hand and between the multiple standards of behavior (at least two) demanded by Christianity on the other.[4] In this discussion, "variance in normality" is sometimes identified with marginality, whereas the latter itself remains most often, in Byzantium at least, a space with fluid and permeable contours. The notion of marginality, initially used as a methodological tool in sociology, was introduced into Medieval Studies by historians of the school of *Annales*, including Jacques le Goff and Borislav Geremek. In Le Goff's categorization, marginality is defined on the basis of accepting or rejecting the system of Christian values imposed by the state and the church.[5] For Geremek, marginality "résulte du rejet du système établi par des individus ou des groupes refusant de se conformer aux normes de coexistence, aux lois et aux pratiques auxquelles la vie collective est soumise."[6] Among categories of marginalized people, banished and exiled persons being the most striking examples, Geremek also includes prostitutes; however, he is not very convincing on this point. The two criteria that he uses for their case is the existence of "prostitution ghettos" in certain cities of the medieval West and their exclusion from the marriage market.[7] We will come back to these criteria later when talking about marginality in Byzantium.

Marginal people began to interest Byzantines Studies quite late: in 1992, during a symposium held in Athens on the subject of "Marginal People in Byzantium," an effort was made to study marginal people more systematically, defining them, following Jacques le Goff, in two ways: as people who, by their own will, place themselves in the margins, rejecting the values of society, and people whom society rejects by putting them in the margins. The categories examined were those of pagans, the anathematized (excommunicated), blacks, the insane, Jews, the ill, homosexuals, and magicians.[8] One could contest several of these categories, but prostitutes are at any rate missing from this brief list of marginalized people in Byzantium.

We will address these questions through textual evidence by considering prostitution as a manifestation of the relationship of power established between the sexes; as Ruth Karras has well noted, "medieval culture … made the prostitute a paradigm of the feminine."[9] We should also not forget that Christianity made a remarkable effort to include some of the marginalized people of ancient society and that the new society that it advocated, paraphrasing Jean-Claude Schmitt's remarks about the Western Middle Ages, "se construit en intégrant."[10]

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[4] See the seminal studies of Hans-Georg Beck, "Formes de non-conformisme à Byzance," *Bulletin de la Classe des Lettres et des Sciences Morales et Politiques: Académie Royale de Belgique*, série 5, 65 (1979): 313–329, and of André Guillou, "Le système de vie enseigné au VIII^e siècle dans le monde byzantin," in *Settimane di Studio del Centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo: I problemi dell'occidente nel secolo VIII, 6–12 aprile 1972* (Spoleto, 1973), I:343–381.

[5] Jacques Le Goff, "Les marginaux dans l'Occident médiéval," in *Les Marginaux et les Exclus dans l'histoire*, ed. Vincent Bernard (Paris, 1979), 19–28.

[6] Borislav Geremek, "Le marginal," in *L'homme médiéval*, ed. Jacques Le Goff (Paris, 1989), 381–413, here at 381.

[7] Geremek, "Le marginal," 404–406.

[8] *Οι περιθωριακοί στο Βυζάντιο*, ed. Chrysa Maltezou (Athens, 1993).

2 Prostitution

The words πορνεία and πόρνη in Byzantine Greek[11] indicate two realities that differ essentially but which are often confused by Byzantine authors for rhetorical reasons. The bequeathed use of antiquity considers as *porneia* any erotic relationship that involves a material exchange or money and implies that there were people—women, children, or feminized men—who exercised a kind of profession around this trade; the term in this case must be translated as prostitution. The use taken from the Bible characterizes as *porneia* any sexual intercourse of an unmarried man or woman; it is not essentially a material exchange (even when that is taking place), but promiscuity itself, the freedom of women to act, to frequent spaces intended for men, and to freely dispose of their bodies. It is this kind of *porneia* that is mainly present in theological treatises and ecclesiastical canons. The term must, in this case, be translated as "fornication."[12] Metaphorical meanings were also grafted onto this latter use, which seriously widens the semantic field of the word to the point where it begins to indicate any sexual misconduct that transgresses the monogamic norm. In the forensic language of the middle Byzantine period, *porneia* is defined as the relationship between a man and an unmarried woman, or, conversely, the relationship between any unmarried woman and any man, married or not.[13]

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[9] Ruth Mazo Karras, "Holy Harlots: Prostitute Saints in Medieval Legend," *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 1 (1990): 3–32, at 32.

[10] Jean-Claude Schmitt, "L'histoire des marginaux," in *La nouvelle histoire*, ed. Jacques Le Goff (Paris, 1978): 277–305, at 302; for other aspects of marginality in the Medieval West, see *Rethinking Medieval Margins and Marginality*, eds. Ann Zimo et al. (London, 2020).

[11] For the terminology concerning prostitution in Byzantium, see Leontsini, *Die Prostitution*, 22–44.

[12] For the transformation of the notion of *porneia* in late antiquity or early Byzantium, see Aline Rousselle, *Porneia* (Paris, 1983); for the theological notion of *porneia*, see Kathy Gaca, "The Sexual and Social Danger of *Pornai* in the Septuagint Greek Stratum of Patristic Christian Greek Thought," in *Desire and Denial in Byzantium*, ed. Liz James (Aldershot, 1999): 35–40; Kyle Harper, "Porneia. The Making of a Christian Sexual Norm," *Journal of Biblical Literature* 131 (2012): 363–383.

[13] For the term *porneia* in legal texts, see Angeliki Laiou, "Sex, Consent, and Coercion in Byzantium," in *Consent and Coercion to Sex and Mariage in Ancient and Medieval Societies*, ed. Angeliki Laiou (Washington, D.C., 1993), 109–221, at 128–130; Irmscher, "Die Bewertung"; Spyros Troianos, *Ο Ποινάλιος τοῦ Εκλογαδίου* (Frankfurt am Mainz, 1980); Spyros Troianos, "Ἔρως και νόμος στο Βυζάντιο," in *Ἐγκλημα και τιμωρία στο Βυζάντιο*, ed. Spyros Troianos (Athens, 1997), 173–201; for the roman period,

While it is difficult to find clear definitions of *porneia* as prostitution, we do find several definitions of the prostitute. I will mention two here, a literary definition from Basil the Great, who claims that there are two types of prostitutes, “the one who was bought by a pimp and commits evil out of necessity, furnishing the fruits of her labor to her evil master; the other is the one who offers herself to sin for pleasure with her own will.”[14] Here we find a statutory division between free women and women with slave status, whereas prostitution, in the modern sense of the term, concerns only women of lower or servile status and is the result of coercion.

The other definition is legal, taken from the *Basilica*, the Greek adaptation of Justinian’s *Digest*:

> We say, then, that a woman openly earns a living from her body (πόρον ἐκ τοῦ ἰδίου σώματος) not only when she works in a brothel (χαμετυπείῳ) but also when she does not guard her honor while working in a workshop (ἐργαστηρίῳ). The term “openly” applies when she offers herself indiscriminately and without shame not to adulterous and obscene men but when she behaves as a prostitute (ἡ τάξιν προεστώσης ἐπέχουσαν). The woman who takes money for sex from one or two men is not said to earn a living openly from her body. To these should be added the one who prostitutes herself not in order to make a living but out of lust (κατὰ ἡδυπάθειαν).[15]

We can see the embarrassment of the jurist when trying to categorize women who operate outside the marital framework in an intermediate space between the public and the private. The question of the woman’s status does not appear in this definition; more important is the frequency of the venal relations in which she engages and the extent of their public exposure. A prostitute is thus one who makes her sexual availability openly visible in public places.

Women thus operate between these definitions of the term *porneia*, each of which is trying in its own way to circumscribe a fluid landscape. There are, in fact, two paradigmatic types of women who exemplify the two types of *porneia* designated by these definitions: a) women who, during antiquity, were called *hetairai* (ἑταῖραι),[16] who regardless of their own social origins accumulated wealth by associating with important men, making the sexual act an art of living and a means of entering the world of men; they were destined, during the early Byzantine period, to spectacular

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Thomas McGinn, “The Legal Definition of Prostitute in Late Antiquity,” *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome* 42 (1997): 75–116.

[14] Basile, *Homelia in principium proverbiorum*, in *PG* 31, 404A–B.

[15] B. 28.4.13 = D. 23.2.24 et 43pr. § 1–2 (Ulpian, Lex Julia et Papia). The last sentence comes from the compiler of *Basilica*.

[16] We will see that the terms *hetaira* (ἑταῖρα), *hetairis* (ἑταιρίς), and their derivatives connoted prostitution in Byzantium. The authors of late antiquity, to avoid the word *porne* (πόρνη), which was too loaded with negative connotations, returned to this ancient term by changing its meaning. See the explanation of this process in Athenaeus, *Deipnosophistae*, 13, 571 [*Athenaeus Deipnosophistae*, ed. Georg Keibel (Stutgartt, 1962), III: 260.8–10]: καλοῦσι δὲ καὶ τὰς μισθαρνούσας ἑταίρας καὶ τὸ ἐπὶ συνουσίαις μισθαρνεῖν ἑταιρεῖν, οὐκ ἔτι πρὸς τὸ ἔτυμον ἀναφέροντες, ἀλλὰ πρὸς το εὐσχημονέστερον.

careers as actresses, and then as saints or empresses; b) women who, of miserable social origin, poor, captives, or slaves, sought to earn a living by offering themselves for a few pennies and had to surrender the major part of their wages to their pimps.[17]

All of these women held remarkable literary potential. Byzantine texts are concerned with prostitutes and not prostitution; they leave us scattered individual portraits and do not approach the phenomenon of prostitution with the aim of fully comprehending its social mechanisms. Before looking for a sociology of "marginality" and prostitution in Byzantium, let us examine the world of prostitutes as portrayed in the Byzantine texts.

3 Prostitutes and Law

In the field of law, prostitutes become visible in two ways. The first, which is based on a broad definition of the prostitute, contains provisions concerning the prohibition of marriage between different statutory categories. In this case, women who worked in certain places, plied certain low trades or came from families that plied these trades, are grouped in the same legal category as "infamous" women, who were treated as equivalent to prostitutes.[18] One thus defined as a prostitute any woman who had to work in public (actress, tavern keeper, bath attendant, small shopkeeper, etc.). A law of Constantine the Great from 336 prohibited persons of high rank from marrying this type of women.[19] This legal provision was abolished by Justin in ca. 523,[20] who allowed actresses, if they repented, to marry high officials and senators, a permission reiterated by Justinian, who had personally made use of this provision.[21] In the case of Justinian, however, the law required the signing of dowry contracts, whereas these contracts were not compulsory for the marriages of people who did not hold high dignities. A similar prohibition, however, which, according to Zonaras, derived from the Bible,[22] remained in force in canon law with regard to the marriage of clerics. Accord-

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17 Evelyne Patlagean, *Pauvreté économique et pauvreté sociale à Byzance, 4e–7e siècles* (Paris, 1977), 132; cf. also Joëlle Beaucamp, *Le statut de la femme à Byzance (4^e–7^e siècle), I. Le droit impérial* (Paris, 1990), 128–129, and Joëlle Beaucamp, *Le statut de la femme à Byzance (4^e–7^e siècle), II. Les pratiques sociales* (Paris, 1992), 54–57 and 338; Dauphin, "Bordels," 184–189.

18 For the notion of *infamy* in Roman law, see Sarah Band, "Altering Infamy: Status, Violence, and Civil Exclusion in Late Antiquity," *Classical Antiquity* 33 (2014): 1–30; for infamy about women, see McGinn, "The Legal."

19 CTh 4.6.3 = CJ 5.27.1.

20 CJ 5.4.23.

21 Just. Nov. 117.6, in *Corpus Iuris Civilis*, vol. 3: *Novellae*, eds. Rudolf Schoell and Wilhelm Kroll (Berlin, 1895, repr. 1972); see also B.28.4.13.

22 Zonaras on Canon 18 of the Apostles, eds. Georgios Rhalles and Michael Potles, *Σύνταγμα τῶν θείων καὶ ἱερῶν κανόνων τῶν τε ἁγίων καὶ πανευφήμων Ἀποστόλων καὶ τῶν ἱερῶν οἰκουμενικῶν καὶ τοπικῶν συνόδων*, 6 vols. (Athens, 1852–1859), 2:25: καὶ τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις ἀπηγόρευτο παρὰ τοῦ νόμου τοῦ ing to Canon 18 of the Apostles, “he who has married a widow or a woman repudiated by her husband or a courtesan or a slave or an actress, cannot be bishop, priest, deacon, or even belong to the clergy.”[23] The same canon was reiterated by the Council in Trullo (as canon 3).[24]

That was the first way by which prostitutes became visible to the law. The second rested on a strict definition of prostitution that emerged from laws concerning pimping.[25] The State, in fact, did not turn on prostitutes or their clients, but only on pimps (πορνοβοσκοί), and it took measures to prevent forced prostitution. The prohibition of pimping was therefore a permanent feature of imperial law. From Theodosios II to Justinian, pimping was the subject of several constitutions that endeavored to prohibit it in all its forms: Theodosios II legislated against pimping on two occasions, once in 428 (with a law for redeeming prostitutes from their pimps)[26] and again in 439 (to ban pimping for the first time).[27] Leo I also promulgated two laws, one to punish pimps with exile or consignment to the mines and to impose penalties of loss of office and fortune on “honorable” pimps;[28] the other law prohibits women from becoming actresses and dancers, this is to say prostitutes.[29] Caring for women who were forced into prostitution became a sign of imperial philanthropy in the early Byzantine period.[30] Justinian followed the same tradition and in 529 penalized the owners of brothels.[31] In 535, with Novel 14, “the most important document on pimping in Byzantium” according to Laniado,[32] he again authorized marriages between prostitutes and “honest” men and invalidated contracts that bound prostitutes to their pimps.[33] This Novel describes in great detail the trade of poor girls who were brought from the provinces, recruited by cunning, trickery, or coercion to prostitute themselves, and thereafter had to reimburse their pimps in order to earn their sustenance. John Mala-

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παλαιοῦ τοὺς ἱερεῖς αὐτῶν πόρνας πρὸς γάμον ἄγεσθαι … καὶ τὰς ἐκ καπηλείας καὶ τοῦ πανδοχεύειν τὴν ζωὴν ποριζομένας.

[23] *Canons of the Apostles* 18, ed. Périclès-Pierre Joannou, *Discipline générale antique (IVe–IXe s.), I.2. Les canons des synodes particuliers* (Rome, 1962), p. 16.

[24] Rhalles and Potles, *Σύνταγμα*, 2:312–314; Hans Ohme, *Concilium Constantinopolitanum a. 691/2 in Trullo habitum (Concilium Quinisextum)* (Berlin, 2013), 25–26.

[25] Beaucamp, *Le statut*, 1:121–132 and 202–209; Laniado, “La prostitution,” 50–70.

[26] CTh 8.2.

[27] CTh 18; see also Laniado, “La prostitution,” 54–57.

[28] CJ 11.41.7.

[29] CJ 1.4.14. Laniado, “La prostitution,” 58–59 explains the existence of this provision on spectacle as due to “des tentatives de certains proxénètes pour dissimuler leur activité, devenue illégale, par l’exercice d’une autre,” but the assimilation of women of spectacle to prostitutes is much earlier.

[30] See also, Harper, *From Sin*, 188: “At its core, this campaign against coerced prostitution is an expression of a new model of human solidarity. The campaign brought the most morally invisible bodies inside the horizons of public solicitude.”

[31] CJ 8.513.

[32] Laniado, “La prostitution,” 63.

[33] See most recently, Laniado, “La prostitution,” 63–66, where the previous bibliography.

las describes in his own way the whole operation put in motion by this Novel and by other laws and policies that have not left written traces, attributing them to the initiative of Theodora, who presided over the redemption of women from their pimps.[34] Finally, Novel 51 legislates on actresses and their right to free themselves from oaths (it is not clear if it concerns prostitution).[35] According to the laws of Justinian, we are faced with "une forme particulière d'exode rural," involving women from the provinces who, because of the poverty of the countryside in the middle of the 6th century, entered into prostitution.[36] The misery of the countryside, however, was endemic and the situation in the 6th century found analogies in the previous and following centuries in regard to supplying cities with prostitutes.

There were also other legal provisions that indirectly concerned prostitutes, such as the law of Anastasios, which in 498 abolished the tax known as the *chrysargyron*. It was Evagrios, a century later, who spoke explicitly of the *chrysargyron* imposed on prostitutes (among other classes) by Constantine the Great, and he criticized the tax for legitimating this activity; the imposition of a tax meant recognition of the trade and its integration into the legal economy of city and empire. According to Evagrios, the tax also weighed on men who prostituted themselves and "who outraged not only nature, but also the State";[37] this constitutes one of the rare references to male prostitution in the 6th century.

It becomes clear that the laws of the early Byzantine period penalized pimps, who organized prostitution often through coercion, but not voluntary prostitution. As the redactor of the *Nomocanon in XIV Titles*, a text of canon law attributed to the Patriarch Photios, points out, "prostitution is certainly not approved by civil law, but it is not prohibited either."[38] This *Nomocanon* also proposes, in accordance with the civil law, a simple definition of the pimp, relevant for any Byzantine period: "A pimp is one who makes an infamous gain from enslaved or free people, either by trading these people directly or by holding them under the pretext of another trade, namely as tavernkeeper, innkeeper, or bathkeeper.”[39]

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[34] Malalas, *History*, 18.24, ed. I. Thurn, *Ioannis Malalae Chronographia* (Berlin, 2000), p. 368; for a contrary opinion on the possibility that Malalas is referring to Novel 14 of Justinian, see Laniado, "La prostitution," 66.

[35] B.60.38.4. Laniado, "La prostitution," 70.

[36] Patlagean, *Pauvreté*, 133: "les familles paysannes, toujours à court de numéraire s'en procurent <en vendant ou en cédant leurs filles> en même temps qu'elles se défont des filles en excédent sur les possibilités locales."

[37] Evagrios, *History*, III.39, eds. Joseph Bidez and Léon Parmentier, *Evagre le scholastique, Histoire ecclésiastique, livres I-III* (Paris, 2011), pp. 500–502. Evagrios is following Procopios of Gaza, *Panegyricus in Anastasium*, in *PG* 87C, 2813A = eds. Eugenio Amato et al., *Procope de Gaza: Discours et fragments* (Paris, 2014), p. 296, lines 1–5: αἱ γὰρ ἐπὶ τῶν οἰκημάτων γυναῖκες, ὄνειδος ἀναγκαῖον λαχοῦσαι τὸν βίον, οὐδὲ τὸ δυστυχεῖν ἐπ'ἀδείας ἐκέκτηντο, ἀλλ' ὤνιον ἐποιοῦντο τὴν τοῦ σώματος ὕβριν, καὶ τοῦ μὴ σωφρονεῖν μισθὸς κατεβάλλετο. The two authors speak of a tax on prostitutes working in brothels. Cf. also Beaucamp, *Le statut*, 1:125; Harper, *From Sin*, 186; Laniado, "La prostitution," 60–61.

[38] *Nomocanon in XIV titres*, 13.5, in Rhalles and Potles, *Σύνταγμα*, 1:304.

In the middle Byzantine period, it was *porneia*-as-fornication that preoccupied the law. Laws of the former period were inserted in Greek translation into the *Basilica*, but contemporary legislation ignores prostitution and pimping; for example, the *Ecloga*[40] of the 8th century and the *Eclogadion* of the 9th century. Only one provision of the latter might indirectly concern prostitution, namely 17.25, which talks about women who work in small businesses in cities:

> One who commits sin with a vile (εὐτελῆ) married woman who works in a tavern, a bakery, or a grocery store must be beaten and exiled. The woman who works in such workshops and has relationships with another man must be exiled after being beaten.[41]

In this case, the law speaks of vile married women, not unmarried women who practice prostitution as a profession. In the middle Byzantine period, the crime of pimping also changed aspect. Present in the laws were not the old *pornoboskoi* (πορνοβοσκοί), but the *proagôgoi* (προαγωγοί), husbands who tolerate or profit from the misconduct of their wives.[42]

A reference to prostitution is also found in the *Laws of the Homerites*, a text that poses serious problems of dating and interpretation:

> Regarding all those who make their houses into dwelling-places of fornicators and receive those who do their iniquity there and provide cover for them, if they are caught doing this, all their property shall be confiscated by the *geitoniarches* and they shall be banished from the city, writing also with their own hand a document which threatens them with capital punishment, that they will never again enter into the country in all the days of their life.[43]

In this case also, what is prohibited is pimping, not people who work freely with their bodies.

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39 *Nomocanon in XIV titres,* 13.21, in Rhalles and Potles, *Σύνταγμα*, 1:322–324: Προαγωγός ἐστιν ὁ πόρον αἰσχρὸν ἀπὸ δούλων ἢ ἐλευθέρων ποιούμενος, εἴτε πρωτοτύπως τοῦτο πραγματεύεται, εἴτε προσχήματι πραγματείας ἑτέρας ἔχει τὰ τοιαῦτα πρόσωπα, ὡς κάπηλος ἢ πανδοχεὺς ἢ βαλανεύς. Photios reworks the definition proposed by D.23.2.43 §9, translated in *Basilica* 28.4.13, which talks explicitly about female pimps: πορνοβοσκὸς δέ ἐστιν ἡ προϊστῶσα γυναίκας ἐπὶ μισθῷ τοῖς παρατυχοῦσι συμφθειρομένας, κἂν ἑτέρῳ προσχήματι, τυχὸν δι’ ὑπηρεσίαν ἐν καπηλείῳ.

40 *Ecloga,* 17.19–23, ed. Ludwig Burgmann, *Ecloga, das Gesetzbuch Leons III und Konstantinos V* (Frankfurt, 1983); Laiou, “Sex,” 132.

41 Troianos, *Ο Ποινάλιος*, 74.

42 Troianos, *Ο Ποινάλιος,* 96–99.

43 *Laws of Homérites*, lig. 123–127, ed. and trans. (modified) Albrecht Berger, *Life and Works of Saint Gregentios, Archibishop of Taphar* (Berlin, 2006), 420–442; for the text and its problems, see Charis Messis, “La famille et ses enjeux dans l’organisation de la cité idéale chrétienne. Le cas des *Lois* des ‘Homérites’,” in *Les réseaux familiaux: Antiquité tardive et Moyen Age*, ed. Béatrice Caseau (Paris, 2012), 87–120.

Canon law, on the other hand, remained virtually silent on prostitution by focusing on fornication. Very few provisions refer to prostitution. The *Apostolic Constitutions* stipulate, for example, in accordance with the spirit of laws against procuring, that “If anyone maintain prostitutes (πορνοβοσκός), let him either stop prostituting women, or else let him be cast out of the Church. If a prostitute comes, let her leave off whoredom, or else let her cast out of the Church.”[44] The *Nomocanon in XIV Titles*, in title 13.21 devoted to actors and mimes, is limited to citing civil legislation regarding pimps. Only the Council in Trullo (691/2), always in the same spirit against pimping, issues a corresponding canon: “In the case of those who procure and maintain harlots to the perdition of souls, we decree that, if they are clerics, they should be deposed, if laymen, excommunicated.”[45]

What is interesting for the realities of prostitution are the comments that accompany this canon and more precisely what Balsamon writes, partially illuminating the realities of the 12th century and the practices of the law. First, Balsamon repeats the two main things by which, according to the Byzantines, a free woman might be led to prostitution: “by force of (sexual) nature or by poverty.” Then he cites the three legitimate reasons for bringing together prostitutes, which carried no penalty: “the mere fact of bringing them together does not deserve punishment, because prostitutes may be brought together in order to instruct them for salvation, or to offer them assistance for correcting their ways, or to lead them to the archon so that they are punished” (παραδοῦναι τῷ ἄρχοντι χάριν σωφρονισμοῦ).[46] The first two options relate to social assistance, whereas the third speaks of turning prostitutes over to the authorities to be punished. This last option leaves us puzzled. This is a process with no provisions in any specific law. Does it concern accusations for offenses other than prostitution, such as theft or night-time noise, or is it a targeted “operation of virtue” that remained in the margins of legality? An operation like that seems to be described in the 9th-century *Life of Saint Anthony the Younger,* whose hero, who is governor of the city of Attaleia, imposes on prostitutes, but also on their customers (?), punitive tonsure and ridicule.[47] We do not know if that city, being a naval station, had more prostitutes than other places, but nothing excludes the possibility that certain local officials took exceptional measures to “sanitize” their cities or regions. Balsamon’s reference is weak and perhaps not enough to conclude that this also happened in the capital. We can also assume that the prostitutes to whom Balsamon refers belonged to the category of married women according to provision 17.25 of the *Eclogadion,* which provides for them to be beaten and exiled. Nothing, however, is certain. The only other references to the submission of prostitutes to a penalty of social stigma through humiliating processions and the like come from Venetian Crete in the 14th century, and do not interest us here.

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[44] *Constitutions of Apostles*, VIII.32.7, ed. Marcel Metzger, *Les constitutions apostoliques*, 3 vols. (Paris, 1985–1987), 3:236–237.

[45] Canon 86, in Rhalles and Potles, *Σύνταγμα*, 2:503: Τοὺς ἐπὶ ψυχῶν ὀλίσθῳ πόρνας ἐπισυνάγοντας καὶ ἐκτρέφοντας, εἰ μὲν κληρικοὶ εἶεν, καθαιρεῖσθαι ὁρίζομεν· εἰ δὲ λαϊκοί, ἀφορίζεσθαι; Ohme, *Concilium*, 55.

[46] Rhalles and Potles, *Σύνταγμα*, 2:504–505.

[47] *Life of Antony the Younger*, ch. 11, lines 11–14, ed. Ioannis Polemis, *Ανθολόγιο βυζαντινής πεζογραφίας* (Athens, 2018), p. 394: ἐκτίθεται δὲ καὶ δόγμα ὡς, εἴ τις εὑρεθείη πόρνος ἢ γυνὴ ἑταιριζομένη, τοῦτον συλλαμβάνεσθαι καὶ τῷ αὐτοῦ ἄγεσθαι πραιτωρίῳ, οὓς καὶ ἐμπίπτοντας, τῆς κόμης τῶν τριχῶν ἀποστερῶν, γελοίους ἀπέλυεν.

Prostitutes also appear in certain canonical responses, such as those of Peter the Chartophylax in the 11th–12th centuries, specifically concerning the offerings that they make to churches. To the question: "Are the offerings of prostitutes (ἑταιρίδων) to be received or not?," the answer of the canonist is "No, because these women are under canonical penalty; thus, no offerings or incense will be accepted."[48] No further explanation is given. We gather that prostitutes were subject to permanent canonical penalties until their repentance. Did the prohibition extend only to offerings, or did it relate to communion too? The refusal of communion to prostitutes, however, is not provided for in any canon. Their donations were seen as impure and probably assimilated to offerings from unclean women (menstruating etc.). The subject is treated, somewhat extremely, also in the *Life of Theodore Sykeon*, where a chalice and a paten are excluded from the liturgy because they have been proven to come from "the melting pot of a prostitute's chamber."[49] In this case, however, it is the prior use of the metal that causes the problem, not that it was an offering from a prostitute. Peter the Chartophylax's response to prostitutes' offerings seems isolated, almost idiosyncratic. In later canon law, prostitution continues to be invisible. In the *Syntagma* of Matthew Blastares of the 14th century, there is no reference to prostitution.[50]

Into this landscape of general indifference towards prostitution dropped a Novel of Andronikos II, dated to 1306, which ratified a decision made by the patriarch Athanasios.[51] Among other provisions, § 3 stipulates that:

> Women, and more particularly virgins, must not offer their honor to all comers. Anyone who rapes this woman in a deserted place must be subjected to the vengeance of the law. The woman who offers herself freely will be punished by cutting her hair and an infamous procession. Far from escaping unscathed, the culprit will pay the legal fine to the tax-authorities; if he has nothing, he will suffer the penalty provided <for this case>.[52]

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[48] Rhalles and Potles, *Σύνταγμα*, 5:370–371.

[49] *Life of Theodore of Sykeon*, ch. 42, lines 34–35, ed. André-Jean Festugière, *Vie de Théodore de Sykéon*, 2 vols. (Brussels, 1970).

[50] See for example, Rhalles and Potles, *Σύνταγμα*, 6:433–440, ch. 15 (περὶ πορνείας), ch. 16 (περὶ τοῦ πορνεῦσαι ἐπιθυμήσαντος καὶ μὴ πράξαντος), and ch. 17 (περὶ πορνοβοσκῶν).

[51] For this Novel, see Laniado, "La prostitution," 81–85.

[52] *Jus Graecoromanum*, 1:535.

It is not clear whether the text is referring to prostitution, as Laniado believes, based on a hasty translation of this sentence by Vitalien Laurent,[53] or to fornication. “The woman who offers herself freely” and who will be punished by the loss of her hair and procession of humiliation could also mean a woman who engages in sexual intercourse without payment, and the case of the virgin refers to the crime of παρθενοφθορία (corruption of a virgin), dealt with by several laws in Byzantium.[54] If, in fact, the law intends to punish prostitutes, we are facing a revolution: that of the criminalization of voluntary prostitution and of the client. But this is unlikely, if not completely so. The only provision that undoubtedly concerns prostitution and in which only the pimp is penalized, in accordance with Byzantine legal and canonical tradition, is found below: “If anyone among them is caught maintaining vile women for the purpose of corrupting souls, without being afraid of canonical punishment, he will be subjected to the procession of infamy.”[55] The references to canon 86 of the Council in Trullo are clear.

4 The Typology of the Prostitute in Byzantine Literature

As we have hinted at already, prostitutes formed a fairly diversified literary topic, because their presence constituted a commentary on femininity, focusing on the domain of women who had strayed far from the path of virtue. An important branch of Byzantine culture drew on the monastic experience of Egypt and Syria-Palestine. In the first monastic accounts we find a complex relationship between the monk and the prostitute. The presence of the latter in this literature is far from marginal.[56] In the outskirts of the desert, prostitutes still formed a necessary element for the construction of the holiness of the anchorite and for his rejection of worldly social values. At the same time, their presence grants to the narrative an undeniable entertainment value coupled with a strong ideological message: the prostitute plays a central role in the mental universe of the monks and their effort to imitate Christ, who saved a prostitute (Luke 7:36–50).[57] The stories adapt to the reality of prostitution and may be divided into those that talk about poor and peasant prostitutes and those that star courtesans of the big cities. One of the oldest accounts, in the *Apophtegmata* of the Desert Fathers, concerns Paisia, containing in embryonic form the most important elements that would be reworked in subsequent prostitute portraits:

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[53] V. Laurent, *Les Regestes des actes du patriarcat de Constantinople. 4. Les regestes de de 1208 à 1309* (Paris, 1971), no. 1606, 389–395, translates the sentence γυναῖκα μὴ ἐπιρρίπτειν αὐτῆς τὴν τιμήν as *se prostituer* (389) instead of *forniquer*.

[54] See in general, Troianos, *Ο Ποινάλιος*, 87–91; Laiou, “Sex,” 120–122 and passim.

[55] *JGR*, 1:536, § 8: εἰ δὲ καὶ γύναια φαῦλα τούτων τις φωραθῇ ἐπ’ὀλίσθῳ ἔχειν ψυχῶν, τοῦ κανόνος μὴ φρίττων τὸ ἐπιτίμιον, ὑποκείσθω δημεύσει.

[56] Benedicta Ward, *Harlots of the Desert: A Study of Repentance in Early Monastic Sources* (Oxford, 1987); Lynda Coon *Sacred Fictions: Holy Women and Hagiography in Late Antiquity* (Philadelphia, 1997), 71–94; Virginia Burrus, *The Sex Lives of Saints: An Erotics of Ancient Hagiography* (Philadelphia, 2004), 128–159; Stavroula Constantinou, *Female Corporeal Performances: Reading the Body in Byzantine Passions and Lives of Holy Women* (Uppsala, 2005), 59–89; Harper, *From Sin*; Nana Mirachvili-Springer, *Prostituées repenties et femmes travesties dans l’hagiographie géorgienne* (Paris, 2014).

> The parents of a young girl died, and she was left an orphan; she was called Paesia. She decided to make her house a hospice, for the use of the Fathers of Scetis. So for a long time she gave hospitality and served the Fathers. But in the course of time, her resources were exhausted and she began to be in want. Some wicked men came to see her and turned her aside from her aim. She began to live an evil life, to the point of becoming a prostitute. The Fathers, learning this, were deeply grieved, and calling Abba John the Dwarf said to him, 'We have learnt that this sister is living an evil life. While she could, she gave us charity, so now it is our turn to offer her charity and to go to her assistance. Go to see her then, and, according to the wisdom which God has given you, put things right for her.' So Abba John went to her, and said to the old door-keeper, 'Tell your mistress I am here.' But she sent him away saying, 'From the beginning you have eaten her goods, and see how poor she is now.' Abba John said to her, 'Tell her, I have something which will be very helpful to her.' The door-keeper's children, mocking him, said to him, 'What have you to give her, that makes you want to meet her?' He replied, 'How do you know what I am going to give her?' The old woman went up and spoke to her mistress about him. Paesia said to her, 'These monks are always going about in the region of the Red Sea and finding pearls.' …[58]

The narrative keeps the same rhythm until the end, which is the conversion of Paisia, her sudden death, and reception in the arms of God. This story contains elements that would be developed in portraits of both poor prostitutes and great courtesans. What the narrative suggests as a cause of prostitution is poverty or a reversal of fortune, which leads women to exercise this profession continuously or occasionally, as a last resort. This is a typical element in stories about prostitutes. But the story also emphasizes the prostitutes' thirst for material gain and luxury. This is an essential component in the portrait of the courtesan. Elements of this scenario are repeated or adapted several times and shape any story that recounts the experience of a woman who makes a living by exploiting her body. Another story cited by John Moschus exemplifies the love of a woman who, in order to save her husband from debts or from prison, prostitutes herself; versions of this appear in several later texts.[59]

The *Apophthegmata Patrum*, the *Spiritual Meadow* by Moschus, and the *Lausiac History* by Palladios all contain a multitude of related stories. When we move from the desert to the cities, the presence of prostitutes becomes even more prominent. The little village prostitutes give way to courtesans who put on a luxurious show for their urban clienteles. The smaller stories that were at first embedded in desert travel literature were followed by hagiographical texts devoted exclusively to prostitutes.

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[57] Simon Légasse, "Jésus et les prostituées," *Revue théologique de Louvain* 7 (1976): 137–154.

[58] *Apophthegmata patrum*, in *PG* 65, 217BC; trans. Benedicta Ward, *The Sayings of the Desert Fathers: The Alphabetical Collection* (Kalamazoo, 1975), 93–94.

[59] John Moschus, *Pratum Spirituale*, no. 186, in *PG* 87C, 3061–3064; *Life of Theodulos Stylite*, in *AASS* Mai VI, 755–765, at 763C–364D; see also, Paul of Monembasia, *Stories*, ed. John Wortley, *Les récits édifiants de Paul, évêque de Monembasie et d'autres auteurs* (Paris, 1987), 127–137; for the last text, see also Laiou, "Sex," 185–187.

The *Life* of Pelagia, the great courtesan of Antioch, is a well-known archetypal text that presents the spectacular reconversion to the solitary life of an actress and courtesan.[60] This same scenario is reworked in a much less ambitious story with a different outcome, the *Life of Theophanes and Pansemne*. Pansemne, an actress and courtesan in Antioch, falls in love with the handsome and wealthy young Theophanes. During a succulent dinner, Theophanes offers to baptize and marry her.[61] Conversion born of love ensues. Marriage thus begins to be presented as a means for the salvation of prostitutes. This solution was already envisaged in previous accounts,[62] but it will be the almost unique option during the middle Byzantine period. Marriage is sometimes real but sometimes a metaphor or simply a cause of slander, as in the case of Porphyria, a prostitute whose story is incorporated in the *Life of John of Cyprus*, written by Leontios of Neapolis. In this pious tale, the monk and the prostitute form a married couple in the eyes of all and have an adopted child: "The rumor spread that the abba had taken madame Porphyria as his wife" and, at the sight of the child, people addressed Porphyria with teasing words: "In truth, you gave birth to a beautiful little son of an abba."[63] The cohabitation of monk and ex-prostitute has become a commonplace fact.

If Antioch and Syria are dominated by actresses, Alexandria and Egypt offer another archetype of the prostitute in the person of Maria, an extreme case that remains unique and fundamentally inimitable. According to her *Life*, written by Patriarch Sophronios of Jerusalem, at the end of the 6th century, Maria fled her parents' home at the age of twelve and spent seventeen years as a prostitute before arriving in Jerusalem and changing her life by practicing an extreme *anachoresis* in the Syrian desert.[64] Her life follows the path of a typical prostitute who is forced to engage in the profession by poverty. What makes her exceptional, however, is the fact that she acts not out of necessity, but out of a consuming sexual desire bordering on nymphomania.

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[60] Pierre Petitmengin et al., *Pélagie la Pénitente, métamorphoses d'une legende, I: Les textes grecs présentés par B. Flusin* (Paris, 1981); metaphrastic version in Stratis Papaioannou, *Christian Novels from the* Menologion *of Symeon Metaphrastes* (Cambridge, MA, 2017), 61–83; Harper, *From Sin*, 226–229.

[61] E. de Stoop, "La Vie de Théophane et de Pansemnè," *Le Musée belge: Revue de Philologie Classique* 15 (1911): 313–329.

[62] *Apophtegmata Patrum*, in *PG* 65, 209BC, à propos de John the Dwarf; English trans.: Ward, *The Sayings*, 88–89.

[63] *Life of John of Cyprus*, ch. 50, lines 25–42, ed. André-Jean Festugière, *Léontios de Néapolis, Vie de Syméon le fou et Vie de Jean de Chypre* (Paris, 1974).

[64] *Life of Mary of Egypt*, in *PG* 87/3, 3697–3725. Maria Kouli, "Life of St. Mary of Egypt," in *Holy Women of Byzantium: Ten Saints' Lives in English Translation*, ed. Alice- Mary Talbot (Washington, D.C., 1996), 65–93.

Maria does not just offer herself to men in order to survive, like the other prostitutes, nor does she prostitute herself to gain luxury and wealth, like most other courtesans, but rather is a downright 'devourer of men.' Sophronios, using concepts taken from the medical profession, makes Maria an exemplary case of one of the most stubborn phobias of men of this period: when the woman is heated up through the sexual act and injection of sperm, she becomes "masculine," namely sexually energetic. If the other prostitutes have a limited portion of this appetite, Maria takes this paradigm of threatening femininity to the extreme.

Some modern scholars treat the accounts of prostitutes and courtesans as an effort by Christian authors to create their own romance novels or to denounce "pagan" femininity in favor of a femininity that is tamed by asceticism or, for lack of anything better, by marriage. In this new literary trend, "the Life of Mary is the quintessential antiromance,"[65] or the quintessential "new romance." The "pagan" erotic romance of that period inspires the Christian novel in many ways, and the latter often gives the role of protagonist to prostitutes. One of the finest Christian achievements of the erotic novel is the account about a different Mary and her uncle, the monk Abraham. The orphan Mary was dependent on her uncle until she was twenty. Seduced at this age by a wicked and devilish monk, she shamefully flees from her uncle and is hired in a tavern. A series of dreams warns the uncle and he begins a search that, after two years, leads him to Mary. He disguises himself as a soldier and arranges a meeting with her. She serves him food, caresses, and kisses him.[66] When they retire to the bedroom, the monk reveals his identity and there follows a scene of moving recognition, like those found in such abundance in the erotic novel. We are thus led to the conclusion, which is the joint salvation of uncle and niece.[67]

Without going into detail or multiplying examples,[68] we can say that the hagiography of the early Byzantine period depicts a porous world between monasticism and brothels, between city and countryside, between extreme sin and sudden conversion to the values of Christianity, and between old femininity and new femininity. The prostitute becomes a symbol and an allegory of sin and redemption. It would not be daring to say that a cult of prostitutes was established with the monk as the main worshiper. In the literary spectacle of the meeting between prostitute and monk, it is the monk most often who takes the initiative and pays for one or more nights so that he can lead the prostitute to salvation.[69] But sometimes it is the prostitute herself who asks the monks to be saved, like the anonymous one who accompanies two young men, but then asks an old monk to save her and lead her to God.[70] The saint thus acts as a “pimp” of virtue, in open competition with real pimps, as happens in the *Life of Marcian the Economos:* “those who before used to menage the women, being deprived of revenue from them, disparaged the saint with vituperations.”[71]

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[65] Harper, *From Sin*, 234.

[66] The consumption of food and wine is a ritual by which woman and client approached each other.

[67] *Life of Mary and Abraham, premetaphrastic version* (BHG 5), in *AASS* Martii II, 932–937; *metaphrastic version* (BHG 8), in *PG* 115, 44–77; Harper, *From Sin*, 229–230.

[68] For other examples, see Harry Magoulias, "Bathhouse, Inn, Tavern, Prostitution and the Stage as Seen in the Lives of the Saints in the Sixth and Seventh Century," *EEBS* 38 (1971): 233–252.

[69] Dauphin, "Bordels," 178; Harper, *From Sin*, 219–234.

In this multifaceted literary landscape there is also a place for stories relating to martyred women of the time of the persecutions. Noble girls who adopt Christianity are relegated to brothels as a punishment, which is not so much the rape that they will suffer but their social degradation. The noble woman suffers the fate of an infamous woman. Forced relegation to a brothel seems to constitute a penalty of customary law for adulterous women until the 4th century, as the ecclesiastical historian Socrates Scholasticus informs us. According to him, the emperor Theodosios I abolished “an indecent custom” that confined adulterous women to a brothel:

> When a woman was detected in adultery, they punished the delinquent not in the way of correction but rather of aggravation of her crime. For shutting her up in a narrow brothel, they obliged her to prostitute herself in a most disgusting manner; causing little bells to be rung at the time of the unclean deed so that those who passed by might not be ignorant of what was going on within. This was doubtless intended to brand the crime with greater ignominy in public opinion. As soon as the emperor was apprised of this indecent usage, he would by no means tolerate it; but having ordered the Sistra—for so these places of penal prostitution were denominated—to be pulled down, he appointed other laws for the punishment of adulteresses.[72]

This background is exploited by the authors of the *Passions* of the martyrs to dramatize the story and make the brothel a place of miracles. The victim is miraculously saved from the assaults of men and keeps her honor intact, such as Agatha in the *Passion* dedicated to her,[73] or Theophila in the *Passion* of Indes and Domna who, led to the “place of debauchery” or “the workshop of dishonor” (τόπον τῶν ἀκολάστων/ ὕβρεως ἐργαστήριον), is saved thanks to holding a Gospel and to the appearance of an angel.[74] On a more realistic register, a Christian woman can escape the dishonor that her persecutors impose on her by evoking a venereal disease.[75] Often it goes in the opposite direction: prostitutes are mobilized to seduce a saint and to lead him away, as in the case of the monk Jacob.[76]

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[70] Moschos, *Pratum*, in *PG* 87C, 2880AB.

[71] *Life of Marcian*, ed. John Wortley, “Vita Sancti Marciani Oeconomi,” *BZ* 103 (2010): 715–772, at lines 374–376 (p. 752), trans. at 768.

[72] Socrates, *History*, V, 18, lines 9–11, ed. G. Hansen, *Socrate de Constantinople, Histoire Ecclésiastique*, SC 505 (Paris, 2006), pp. 204–205; English translation: A. Zenos, *The Ecclesiastical History of Socrates Scholasticus* (New York, 1886), 127 (modified).

[73] *Passion of Agatha of Catane*, in *PG* 114, 1332–1345 (metaphrastic version), at 1333–1336.

[74] *Passion of Indes and Domna*, ed. Kleopas Koikylidès, *Βίοι τῶν Παλαιστινῶν Ἁγίων* (Jerusalem, 1907), 71–72. For other examples, see Francesca Rizzo Nervo, “La Vergine e il Lupanare. Storiografia, Romanzo, Agiografia,” in *La narrativa cristiana antica. Codici narrativi, strutture formali, schemi retorici. XXIII° Incontro di studiosi dell’ antichita cristiana. Roma, 5–7 maggio 1994* (Rome, 1995), 91–99.

[75] Palladios, *Lausiac History*, ch. 65, ed. G. Bartelink, *Palladio, La storia lausiaca*, 2nd ed. (Milan, 1998).

In the sagas of city life so colorfully presented in the *Lives* of the Holy Fools, prostitutes are an integral part of the urban landscape, and are even main actors. The topography of urban prostitution consists of the streets, taverns, inns, baths, often the home of the pimp or the prostituted woman, and, finally, the brothels (καταγώγια).[77] This was a form of prostitution open to the majority of men, and cheap. Symeon the Fool frequents the prostitutes of Emesa, is surrounded by and plays with them, pays them so that they stop their trade, and punishes them when they persist. They, on the other hand, try to incite him to debauchery, touch, or hit him.[78] Prostitutes are the only women with whom the saint establishes real contact and dialogue. In the *Life* of Andrew the Fool (generally dated for no good reason to the 10th century, but in its nucleus a story dating to the 7th century), prostitutes are an essential part of the decor of the city and the activities of the saint. Young men go to brothels, prostitutes try to seduce beautiful boys, the saint is tempted by them with touching and teasing words, and adult men abandon their wives and waste their property in brothels,[79] all in an urban ambience where prostitutes define male sociability to a significant degree.

Finally, the historiography of the early Byzantine period is dominated by the portrait that Procopios paints of Theodora in his *Secret History*. Theodora, who combines aspects of the poor prostitute and the courtesan and who rises to the throne through a successful marriage, remains the most powerful portrait of a femininity that still both charms and frustrates. Procopios' portrait of Theodora has been treated several times,[80] and does not require additional commentary here.

From the 7th century onwards, literature attempted to find other ways to enhance the presence of the prostitute in the narrative. The courtesans of the big cities disappear completely or appear in hagiographic rewritings as a reminiscence of a distant, glorious, and heroic ascetic past, while those who remain visible in historiography and in hagiography are poor women, mostly anonymous.

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[76] *Life of Monk Jacob* (metaphrastic version), in *PG* 114, 1213–1230, at 1216B. This is a common motif.

[77] Magoulias, "Bathhause"; Dauphin, "Bordels," 181–183.

[78] *Life of Symeon Salos*, ch. 22, ed. Lennart Rydén, in Festugière, *Léontios de Néapolis*, pp. 88–89; for this text, see Derek Krueger, *Symeon the Holy Fool: Leontios's Life and the Late Antique City* (Berkeley, 1996).

[79] See respectively, Lennart Rydén, *The Life of St. Andrew the Fool* (Uppsala, 1995), lines 251–253; 2206–2210; 298–301; 303–331; 2438–2443; 3482–3483; 3792–3794. For the dating, see the discussion and bibliography in *Alexander Kazhdan: A History of Byzantine Literature (850–1000)*, ed. Christina Angelidi (Athens, 2006), 193–200.

[80] See in general Leslie Brubaker, "The Age of Justinian. Gender and Society," in *The Cambridge Companion to the Age of Justinian*, ed. Michael Maas (Cambridge, 2005), 427–447; David Potter, *Theodora: Actress, Empress, Saint* (Oxford, 2015); for the author and the period, Antony Kaldellis, *Procopius of Caesarea: Tyranny, History, and Philosophy at the End of Antiquity* (Philadelphia, 2004).

At this time appears a new type of prostitute, that of the prostitute-mother, with one glorious example: we witness the hagiographic elaboration of Saint Helena as a former prostitute. Using an anti-Constantinian legend, Philostorgios is the first to attribute to the Emperor Julian the accusation that Constantine was born "of a vile woman and in no way different from prostitutes (φαύλης τινὸς γυναικὸς καὶ τῶν χαμαιτύπων οὐδὲν διαφερούσης)."[81] According to this text, Helena does not differ from prostitutes, but she is not exactly identified with them either. Responding to Philostorgios, the chroniclers of the 9th century, Theophanes and George the Monk reject such a possibility by attributing the dissemination of this slur to pagans and Arians.[82] So far, however, the texts avoid specifying whether the *porneia* committed by Constantios I was an occasional sexual relationship with the daughter of an innkeeper or a sexual relationship with a "professional." Indeed, the difference is minimal, given that the daughter of an innkeeper and a prostitute shared the same legal status of infamy. The resemblance to a prostitute, indicated by Philostorgios, becomes a rather clear identification with a prostitute in the version of the *Passion of Saint Eusignios*, which stages the interrogation by the Emperor Julian of the future martyr. But in this case, it is the martyr Eusignios who calls Constantine the "son of a prostitute (ὁ τῆς πόρνης υἱός)," while Julian reacts indignantly to this insult:

> Eusignios: "Are you not ashamed, you, the most atheistic of all humans, to be distant from God, while Constantine the emperor, the son of the prostitute, knew the Lord Christ?" Julian replied: "What did you dare to say, scoundrel? Do you call the Emperor Constantine a son of a prostitute?"[83]

Eusignios then presents himself as an eyewitness to the meeting between Constantios and Helena and narrates the "true" tale of general and prostitute in a country inn, a sexual encounter that resulted in the future founder of Constantinople, where Julian was born.[84] An accusation against Constantine launched by Julian, according to Philostorgios, turns here into a literary asset, a romantic story, which sees the son of a prostitute as a future hero and new founder of the Empire. Let us not forget that the foundation of Rome was attributed to two abandoned boys fed by a wolf (*lupa*), a wolf that some rationalist authors of the early Byzantine period considered to have been a metaphor for a prostitute.[85]

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[81] For all the texts that present Helena as prostitute, see also Alexander Kazhdan, "'Constantin imaginaire'. Byzantine Legends of the Ninth Century about Constantine the Great," *Byz* 57 (1987): 196–250, here at 212–215. Kazhdan dates the appearance of this legend to after the 7th century and wonders about the relationship between Helena and Theodore Sykeon's mother.

[82] Philostorgios, *History*, fr. 2.16a, ed. Joseph Bidez, trans. Edouard des Places, *Philostorge, Histoire ecclésiastique*, SC 564 (Paris, 2013), p. 230.

[83] Theophanes, *Chronographia*, ed. Carolus de Boor *Theophanis Chronographia* (Leipzig, 1883), p. 18, lines 8–9: ἄλλοι δὲ Ἀρειανοὶ καὶ Ἕλληνες ὡς νόθον διαβάλλουσι τὸν μέγαν Κωνσταντῖνον; George the monk, *Chronographia*, eds. Carolus de Boor and Peter Wirth, *Georgii Monachi Chronicon*, (Stuttgart, 1978), p. 484, line 23 – p. 485, line 1: ὃν ἐκ πορνείας γεγεννῆσθαί τινες τοῦτον εἰπόντες ἐλέγχονται σαφῶς ὑπὸ διαφόρων ἐξηγητῶν ὡς ψευδολόγοι καὶ ματαιόφρονες. Among the middle Byzantine versions of the *Life of Constantine*, one reproduces the history of the inn, but another avoids assimilating Helena to a prostitute: ἔν τινι τόπῳ διαναπαῦσαι τὸν στρατὸν βουλόμενος εὑρίσκει πανδοχεῖον ἐν ᾧ κόρη εὐειδὴς ἕλλην τῇ θρησκείᾳ Ἑλένη τοὔνομα·ἧς ἐρασθεὶς συνεισῆλθεν αὐτῇ (François Halkin, "Une nouvelle Vie de Constantin dans un légendier de Patmos," *AB* 77 [1959]: 63–107, ch. 2).

The case of Saint Theodore Sykeon's mother is largely modeled on that of Helena. In the case of Theodore, it is a family composed exclusively of women who work as prostitutes in a provincial inn (αὗται δὲ αἱ γυναῖκες, κατοικοῦσαι ἐν αὐτῷ (τὸ πανδοχεῖον) ἐξετέλουν καὶ τῆν πρᾶξιν τῶν ἑταιρίδων). A courtier passing through impregnates Mary, one of the daughters of the innkeeper, whose name was Elpidia. A premonitory dream marks the baby's extraordinary destiny.[86] The two cases are not unrelated and valorize, each in its own way, the figure of the mother-prostitute.

In literature from the 9th century, prostitutes became rarer and anonymous. They were transformed into background figures, for whose benefit the saints, men but especially women, exercised their miraculous powers and pious emperors their philanthropy. In hagiography, the monk-prostitute couple[87] of the previous period is replaced by that of the woman saint-prostitute. She almost never converts to *anachoresis* or solitude, but to a social activity more respectful of conventions or to marriage. Thus, Thomais of Lesbos in the 10th century devotes two of her miracles to prostitutes. One of them is cured by a hemorrhage, promising not to ply her profession during the great Christian holidays;[88] the other, who suffered from the same illness, promised to give up her job and enter into a legitimate marriage.[89] What one expects now from prostitute is a minimum of decency or her social rehabilitation through marriage.

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[84] Paul Devos, "Une recension nouvelle de la Passion grecque BHG 639 de saint Eusignios," *AB* 100 (1982): 209–228, at 218: 'οὐκ αἰδῇ, ἀθεώτατε πάντων ἀνθρώπων, ὅτι ὁ τῆς πόρνης υἱὸς Κωνσταντῖνος ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐγνώρισεν τὸν δεσπότην Χριστόν, καὶ σὺ ἀπέστῃς ἀπ' αὐτοῦ'; Ὁ δὲ Ἰουλιανὸς ἀποκριθεὶς λέγει·'τί τοῦτο ἐτόλμησας εἰπεῖν, μιαρώτατε; τὸν βασιλέα Κωνσταντῖνον πορνογέννητον ἀναγορεύεις;'.

[85] E.g., Macrobius, *Saturnalia*, I.10.

[86] *Life of Theodore of Sykeon*, ch. 3, lines 6–9.

[87] There are still cases that highlight the meeting between saint and provincial prostitute, as with Gregory of Decapolis and the prostitute of Syracuse who lived in a tower near the port and corrupted poor sailors; in this case, the *porneion* turns into a monastery (καὶ τὸ πρὶν πορνεῖον σεμνεῖον εὐαγὲς τῇ ἑαυτοῦ προσεδρείᾳ διέδειξεν), ed. G. Makris, *Ignatios Diakonos und die Vita des hl. Gregorios Dekapolites* (Stuttgart, 1997), ch. 28 and 29.

[88] *Life and miracles of Thomais of Lesbos*, miracle 4, in *AASS* Nov. IV, 234–242, at 238DE: … ἔκκοψον τὸ ἐν ταῖς θείαις καὶ μεγάλαις ἑορταῖς συνουσιάζειν ἀνδράσι καὶ ἄθεσμα πράττειν κατὰ τὸ σύνηθες. English translation, Paul Halsall, "Life of St. Thomaïs of Lesbos," in Talbot, *Holy Women*, 291–322.

[89] *Life and miracles of Thomais of Lesbos,* miracle 5, 238EF: εἰ θέλεις ὑγιὴς γενέσθαι, τῆς παραλόγου καὶ βορβορώδους ἀπόστηθι μίξεως, τὸ ταύτης ἔκκοψον πάθος καὶ συζεύχθητι νομίμῳ ἀνδρὶ καὶ τεύξῃ ταχείας τῆς θεραπείας. Alexander Kazhdan, "Byzantine Hagiography and Sex in the Fifth to Twelfth Centuries," *DOP* 44 (1990): 131–143, at 136.

In this new ambience concerning prostitutes, there are also some recalcitrant cases. The sister of Psellos, a saint in the eyes of her brother, acts on several occasions to save a woman in her neighborhood who "sold her beauty to whomever wanted it" (μισθὸν τοῖς βουλομένοις τῆς ὥρας ἐλάμβανε), first with threats and reproaches and then with promises of shelter, clothing, food, even luxury. This lady was surrounded by young men who were ready to waste their money for her graces. For a time, the prostitute respected the agreement with Psellos' sister, but she returned to her former life, with no obvious untoward consequences.[90] If Psellos' sister failed, the same thing happened in Constantinople in the fourteenth century, more precisely in the church of Theotokos of Pege. The Virgin performs a miracle for a sick prostitute who seeks refuge there and promises to give up the profession. After recovering her health, she keeps her promise while in Constantinople, but when she leaves the capital to settle in Vizye, she goes back to her work as a prostitute. According to her logic, probably, a promise to the Virgin of Constantinople was valid only in Constantinople. But the Virgin of Constantinople still remained the Virgin of the whole Empire, and thus the disease returned to the perjured woman with greater force, ultimately leading to her death.[91]

The figure of the prostitute in *the Life of Theodore of Edessa* stands somewhere between tradition and more "modern" trends. This hagiographic novel contains several stories of holiness in the old fashion and was written in Greek at the beginning of the 11th century by Euthymios the Georgian.[92] From ancient tradition, the story retains the prostitute's repentance and salvation through the most rigorous asceticism in a dark cell. Novelty is signaled by the fact that she achieves salvation through the mediation of a noble woman who was going to lose her child. It is the prostitute's prayer that ensures the salvation of the child and it is the stylite Theodosios who sees the divine light that surrounds the prostitute. The healing of the child surprises above all the prostitute herself, and it is this astonishment that leads her to repentance and asceticism under guidance by the stylite.[93] The prostitutes in middle and late Byzantine hagiography thus play a secondary role in enhancing the central character, who is more commonly a woman.

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[90] Psellos, *Encomion of Mother*, ch. 38–39, ed. Ugo Criscuolo, *Michaelis Pselli: Encomium in matrem* (Naples, 1989). English translation in Antony Kaldellis, *Mothers and Sons, Fathers and Daughters: The Byzantine family of Michael Psellos* (Notre Dame, 2006), 74–75.

[91] Nikephoros Xanthopoulos, *Miracles of the Pege*, no. 53, ed. Amvrosios Pamperis, *Νικηφόρου Καλλίστου τοῦ Ξανθοπούλου περὶ συστάσεως τοῦ σεβασμίου οἴκου τῆς ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει Ζωοδόχου πηγῆς καὶ τῶν ἐν αὐτῷ ὑπερφυῶς τελεσθέντων θαυμάτων* (Leipzig, 1802), 1–99, at 73–76.

[92] On this text, see André Binggeli, "Converting the Caliph: a legendary motif in Christian hagiography and historiography of the early Islamic period," in *Writing 'True Stories': Historians and Hagiographers in the Late Antique and Medieval Near East*, eds. Arietta Papaconstantinou, Muriel Debié, and Hugh Kennedy (Turnhout, 2010), 77–103, with bibliography; for the author, see Christian Høgel, "Euthymios the Athonite, Greek-Georgian and Georgian-Greek Translator – and Metaphrast?," in *Mélanges Bernard Flusin* [=*TM* 23/1 (2019): 353–364] (Paris, 2019), 353–364.

[93] *Life of Theodore of Edessa*, ch. LVIII-LX, ed. Ivan Pomjalovskij, *Zhitie izhe vo svjatych otca nashego Feodora archiepiskopa Edesskogo* (St. Petersburg, 1892), 58–60; cf. Kazhdan, "Byzantine Hagiography," 137.

The pious emperors of the middle Byzantine period followed the tradition of their late antique predecessors. Romanos I Lecapenos (920–944) gives each prostitute two coins during his wanderings in town.[94] Michael IV (1034–1041), for his part, followed another path:

> Scattered all over the city was a vast multitude of harlots (ἑταιριζουσῶν γυναικῶν), and without attempting to turn them from their trade by argument – that class of woman is deaf anyway to all advice that would save them, – without even trying to curb their activities by force, lest he should earn the reputation of violence, he built in the Queen of Cities a place of refuge to house them, an edifice of enormous size and very great beauty. Then, in the stentorian notes of the public herald, he issued a proclamation: all women who trafficked in their beauty, provided they were willing to renounce their trade and live in luxury were to find sanctuary in this building.[95]

Psellos, who reports this story, gives a sort of "psychology" of the prostitute: it's not the prohibitions, the violence, or persuasion that make them change their lives, but a beautiful home, luxury, and abundance: that is what the emperor procures for them. The result is, in the eulogistic writing of Psellos, spectacular: "Thereupon a great swarm of prostitutes descended upon this refuge, relying on the emperor's proclamation, and changed both their garments and their manner of life, a youthful band enrolled in the service of God, as soldiers of virtue."[96] With this triumphant image of imperial policy towards prostitutes, let us move to the subject of their marginality.

5 "Marginality"

The answer, therefore, to the question of whether prostitution as a marginal activity in Byzantium must be resolutely negative, insofar as it was recognized as free. In that case it was indifferent to the law, which penalized only deviations and dysfunctions. The question, on the other hand, of whether prostitutes were among marginalized people in Byzantium remains open and requires an answer, even if only a tentative one.

If marginality concerns groups, it must be recognized that prostitutes do not constitute a homogeneous group either synchronically or diachronically. There is little in common among a peasant woman from Egypt, a courtesan from Antioch, a city girl from Constantinople, a daughter of an innkeeper along army roads, women from the 4th, 10th, or 14th centuries, other than a rather vague designation of infamy.

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[94] *Theophanes Continuatus*, VI, 44, ed. Immanuel Bekker, *Theophanes Continuatus* (Bonn, 1838), p. 430, lines 1–3: ἐδίδει πᾶσαν πολιτικὴν ἀνὰ ἀργυρῶν δύο.

[95] Psellos, *History*, 4.36, ed. Diether Reinsch, *Michaelis Pselli Chronographia* (Berlin, 2014), p. 69; English trans. in Edgar Sewter, *Fourteen Byzantine rulers: the Chronographia of Michael Psellus* (London, 1953), 73–74.

[96] Psellos, *History*, 4.36; cf. Laniado, "La prostitution," 91.

If marginality concerns individuals, it is difficult to trace it in the past by following the career of one or another prostitute. In this case, there is something that we might call effective marginality, created by the absence of family ties and by the "freedom" of women to dispose themselves in a society composed of groups rather than individuals. And there is a different kind of marginality, too, that which resides "in the eye of the beholder"[97] and derives from the flux of social identities. Prostitutes are marginalized for some, necessary for others (say, in order to satisfy their sexual needs). In this period appears a new type of prostitute, that of the prostitute-mother, central for other women in order to make a profit from them or, conversely, in order to fulfill their duty of philanthropy. Prostitutes, for their part, seem to manage the effects of marginalization on a daily basis, but they often appear while their fellow citizens or former emperors are themselves being marginalized, as with the prostitute who participated in the public humiliation of Andronikos I by throwing hot water on his face,[98] or the prostitutes who must punish a *pingernis* (cupbearer) in a satirical work of 14th century: "one must seize him like a thief, strip him off and, arms tied behind his back, paraded him around the town before leaving him in the hands of five of the most famous tavernkeepers, Anna 'the Golden', Magganina of Eudokimos, Eudokia 'the milk seller', Tamarosa, and Roubachlada. Each of them must slap him, peck at his bare bottom, and kick him."[99] The tavern-keepers, obviously prostitutes, participate energetically in the humiliation and occasional marginalization of the poor *pingernis*.

If, however, we want objective criteria by which to define a state of indisputable marginalization for prostitutes, perceived as a group or as individuals, we could have recourse to three such: a) access to marriage and to "normal" life; b) spatial restrictions on movement and activity; c) and the status of infamy, conditioned by the first two. To this we could add a purely Christian criterion: access to holiness, or communion.

Prostitutes in Byzantium had access to marriage. Laws allowed them to marry people across the entire social ladder, without any restrictions, and saints often encouraged them to marry, as we have seen, to escape prostitution. The laws of marriage demonstrate that the status of infamy was not granted once and for all, but it was revocable by marriage. The laws thus defined the possibility of converting marginality into normality.

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[97] Erik Spindler, "Were Medieval Prostitutes Marginals? Evidence from Sluis, 1387–1440," *Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire* 87 (2009): 239–272; Spindler concludes that, for the case under consideration, although some prostitutes were probably marginalized, "prostitution as a whole cannot be called marginal" (270), as it was present at the center of urban life.

[98] Niketas Choniates, *History*, ed. Jan-Louis van Dieten, *Nicetae Choniatae Historia*, CFHB 11/1 (Berlin, 1975), 350.

[99] Herbert Hunger, "Anomymes Pamphlet gegen eine byzantinische 'Mafia'," *Revue des Études Sud-Est Européennes* 7 (1969): 95–107, here 96, at lines 12–17.

As far as prostitutes and space are concerned, matters are more complex. First, prostitution in Byzantium was a phenomenon both urban and rural, in Constantinople, "la capitale de l'empire est aussi la capitale de la prostitution,"[100] as also in late antique Rome, Alexandria, and Antioch. We can posit the existence throughout the Byzantine period of prostitution networks run by pimps who circulated prostitutes from place to place, according to circumstance, as described by Procopios for the 6th century: "for there had been a numerous body (ἑταιρία) of procurers in the city from ancient times, conducting their traffic in licentiousness in brothels and selling others' youth in the public market-place and forcing virtuous persons into slavery."[101] Prostitution in Constantinople does not seem to be confined to specific sections of the city. Evagrios, in the text cited previously, speaks of the hidden parts of the cities, echoing Justinian's Novel 14, but this is only a manner of speaking. Psellos talks about a prostitute who lives next to her sister, in a residential district of the middle class. In a proven case of prostitution, presented before the patriarchal court in the middle of the 14th century, it was the neighborhood that asked the authorities to "take measures and remove this shame from their home (ἐζήτησαν προμηθεύσασθαι καὶ ἀπαλλάξαι τῆς ἀτιμίας αὐτούς)." They did this when a woman named Thiniatissa (Thiniatis' daughter), disguised as a nun, received her clients at home. Her house was also inhabited by other "nuns" who practiced the same profession.[102] These testimonies lead us to think that prostitution was practiced almost everywhere in the city, even if disguised so as not to disturb others.

The various renovations of the city's districts and buildings indirectly reveal imperial attitudes to the installation of prostitutes. At Zeugma (north of Constantinople), for example, Constantine the Great built a brothel, to be the only one in the city, organized into compartments separated by curtains. It was provided with a statue of Venus, which had the magical power of publicly revealing the shameful parts of adulterous women.[103] Theodosios I, in turn, built houses for the poorest prostitutes around the temple of Venus on the acropolis.[104] Constantine's building would have another destiny in the middle Byzantine period: it was converted into a hospice (for whom?) by Theophilos in the middle of the 9th century,[105] though the texts do not tell us if it was still used by prostitutes or whether they were dislodged for the conversion. This information from the *Patria* is curious and puts Constantine the Great and Theophilos in an antagonistic relationship: Constantine creates this unique brothel of the city to control prostitution, while Theophilus, by converting it into a hospice, re-inaugurates "free-range" prostitution, unless, in the logic of the author of this note, the mere rearrangement was enough to eradicate prostitution. Leon VI, in turn, chased the prostitutes out of a building called Kyphé and converted it into a hospice for the elderly.[106] In all these cases we see the efforts of the middle Byzantine emperors to make prostitutes invisible in places recognized as intended for prostitution. In the late Byzantine period, regulations appeared in the legal collection of Armenopoulos (14th century), that summarized an earlier tradition, more precisely the treaty of Julian of Askalon of the 6th century.[107] This prohibited the creation of a brothel anywhere, so that neighboring houses would not lose their value, without, however, indicating a precise place for their construction. In any case, it is a question of the neighborhood that had to be resolved by the people involved. On the other hand, for the villages the same text mentions taverns and similar shops as places of prostitution.[108] In conclusion, in the capital, and likely in the other big cities of the Empire, during the middle and late periods prostitutes were present in residential areas, without excluding that they were more concentrated in some places, not for reasons of ghettoization but to provide easier access to their customers (ports, etc.). Geographically, prostitutes do not seem to have been marginalized in the cities.[109]

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[100] Laniado, "La prostitution," 96–97. Cf. also Lynda Garland, "Street-life in Constantinople: Women and the Carnivalesque," in *Byzantine Women: Varieties of Experience 800–1200*, ed. Lynda Garland (Aldershot, 2006), 163–176, at 166–167.

[101] Procopios, *Περὶ κτισμάτων*, I, 9, 2, ed. and trans. in H. B. Dewing, *Procopius: On Buildings* (Cambridge, MA, 1940), 74–75.

[102] Franz Miklosich and Joseph Müller, *Acta et Diplomata graeca medii aevi sacra et profana* (Vienna, 1860), no. cxil, I:323–325.

[103] *Patria*, II.65, ed. Theodorus Preger, *Scriptores Originum Constantinopolitanarum* (Leipzig, 1901); cf. Gilbert Dagron, *Constantinople imaginaire. Etudes sur le recueil des* Patria (Paris, 1984), 139–140. On all these renovations, see also Hans-Georg Beck, *Byzantinisches Erotikon* (Munich, 1986), 94–95; for a topography of prostitution, see also Leontsini, *Die Prostitution*, 63–72.

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[104] Malalas, *History*, 13.38, ed. Thurn, p. 267. According Laniado, "La prostitution," 88, the goal of Theodosios could have been to confine the prostitutes to a particular place, but it is not certain whether these houses functioned also as workplaces.

[105] Patria, II.65, ed. Preger; a more detailed version of this information in Symeon Magistros, *History*, 130.42, ed. Stephan Wahlgren, *Symeonis Magistri et Logothetae Chronicon*, CFHB 40 (Berlin, 2006), 230–231 and *Theophanes Continuatus*, eds. Michael Faethersone and Juan Signes Codonez, *Theophanis Continuati Libri I–IV*, CFHB 53, Series Berolinensis (Berlin, 2015), 138. See also Laniado, "La prostitution," 86 and 89–90, who considers the two buildings different.

[106] *Theophanis Continuatus*, VI.23, ed. Bekker, p. 370, lines 15–16: γέγονε τότε καὶ ἡ Κύφη γηροκομεῖον, τῶν ἐκεῖσε ἑταιριδῶν ἐκδιωχθέντων; see also Pseudo-Symeon, ed. Bekker, p. 645, lines 21–22.

[107] For this text, see Catherine Saliou, *Le traité d'urbanisme de Julien d'Ascalon (VIe siècle)* (Paris, 1996).

[108] Armenopoulos, *Exabiblos*, 2.4.27, ed. Konstantinos Pitsakis, *Κωνσταντίνου Ἁρμενοπούλου Πρόχειρον νόμων ἢ ἑξάβιβλος* (Athens, 1971): ἑταιρεῖον δὲ μὴ ἐξεῖναι ὁποτέρῳ αὐτῶν κατασκευάζειν διὰ τὴν τῆς ἑτέρας οἰκίας ὕβριν. Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ἐν πόλεσιν, ἐν δὲ ταῖς κώμαις περί τε τῶν καπηλείων καὶ τῶν τοιούτων χρήσονται ἰδίοις ἀναλόγοις.

[109] See, for example, the case of the monk Helias, who knows well the geography of prostitution in the capital, according to Michael Psellos, *Letters*, no. 219, ed. Stratis Papaioannou, *Michael Psellus, Epistulae*, Bibliotheca Scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana 2030 (Berlin, 2019), p. 586,

If the practice of prostitution seems to have been free in the capital, there is nevertheless a geography of repentance, which "marginalizes" them in the sense of removing them from social life. This consisted of hospices, such as the one of "Repentance" built by Justinian and Theodora,[110] the building of Michael IV that was described by Psellos, and the various monasteries where women who had committed aggravated sexual crimes (equivalent to adultery, etc.) were retired from circulation. It is not insignificant that Thiniatissa's brothel in the 14th century looks like a monastery.

The status of infamy was a legal category of imperial law and concerned prostitutes. An infamous person lost the bodily protection of the law and could face humiliating punishment, sexual abuse, or any type of violence without legal consequences for the assailant. In this case too, infamy does not simply define a margin, but is a *sine qua non* of social organization whose balance is based on the management of the opposition between honorable and infamous, between respectful matrons and women accessible to all and therefore "consumable." The law is clear on this point. According to the *Basilica* and then the *Procheiron auctum* at the end of the 12th century, "the laws are concerned with the chastity of respectful women and not concerned with pitiful and vulgar women."[111] If the law generally defines social margins by penalizing misconduct, prostitutes are then part of regular society. It was the women of the aristocracy who were placed in the margins of the social economy, a valued and ideal margin this time.

Secondary elements of marginalization might also include the wearing of special clothing, a perceived link between prostitution and disease, and also insults. But Byzantine prostitutes did not wear clothing indicative of their profession. What distinguished some of them from ordinary women was luxury, bright colors, and more makeup. Hagiography of the early Byzantine period makes disease a matter of tension between prostitute and client,[112] but in late hagiography disease is an unhappy state that afflicts only the prostitute herself.

Finally, insults are sometimes part of a process of marginalization. In a case cited by the *Peira* in the 11th century, a person is insulted as a "cuckold and son of a

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lines 9–11: ἀλλ' ὁπόσα μὲν ἐν τῇ πόλει χαμαιτυπεῖα, ὁπόσα δὲ καπηλεῖα καὶ πόσαι μὲν τῶν ἑταιρουσῶν γυναικῶν ἀκριβῶς τὴν τέχνην ἠσκήκασι, πόσαι δὲ οὐκ ἀκριβῶς τῷ πράγματι ἥρμοσαν.

[110] For 'rgefsaepentance' see Procopios, *Anecdota*, 17, lines 5–6; Procopios, *Περὶ κτισμάτων*, I.9, lines 6–10.

[111] B.60.37.66 and *Procheiron Auctum*, 40.101, in *JGR* 7: 329: οἱ γὰρ νόμοι περὶ τῆς τῶν εὐυπολήπτων γυναικῶν σωφροσύνης προενοήσαντο, οὐδένα λόγον θέμενοι τῶν οἰκτρῶν καὶ εὐτελῶν γυναικῶν.

[112] Palladios, *Lauciac History*, ed. Bartelink, ch. 65 tells an ancient story of persecution where a Christian girl is confined to a brothel (τῷ ἐργαστηρίῳ τῆς ἀπωλείας) with the obligation to collect three nomismata per day. To avoid the erotic assaults of young men, she claims to have a venereal disease. Moschus, *Spiritual Meadow*, in *PG* 87C, 2861C, connects prostitution to leprosy: (a monk) ὡς εἰσῆλθεν εἰς τὸ καταγώγιον τῆς πορνείας εὐθέως ἐλεπρώθη ὅλως. On the relationship between illness and prostitution, see Leontsini, *Die Prostitution*, 112–117; Dauphin, "Bordels," 191.

bitch."[113] The two insults constitute cases of symbolic rather than effective marginalization and are used strategically in the context of an antagonistic situation to offend an opponent, without, however, marginalizing him. The insulted person is, in our case, a respectable *kandidatos*.

These indices, in sum, constitute weak markers of marginalization in Byzantium. If dreams are a deeper and safer indication of mentalities and social tension, having sex with prostitutes in the Byzantine world indicates wealth and success, at least for secular dreamers. Only for anchorites and pious men, namely for a truly marginal part of the Byzantine society, did the prostitute signify sadness and failure.[114]

6 Conclusion

The prostitute, embedded within multiple socioeconomic realities, constitutes a central figure in the reality and the imagination of the Byzantines. In reality, Byzantine society recognized prostitutes for their function and provided them a place in the community and an established role in the sexual order. According to Laniado, "la prostitution n'est pas un phénomène suffisamment sérieux pour susciter la promulgation de nombreuses lois générales,"[115] while for Dauphin, "le puritanisme byzantin encouragea la prostitution."[116] In any case, a movement from conformity to marginality, passing through the different forms and degrees of variance and deviance, and vice versa, was not impossible for a Byzantine prostitute. The statutory rigidity that dominated ancient Roman society was replaced in the Byzantine East by significant social mobility, even if only on a psychological level and not in economic reality. The path between prostitution and “normality” was open in both directions and, if there was marginalization, it was a stop along the way and not a terminus.

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[113] *Ἡ Πεῖρα – Die Peira: Ein juristisches Lehrbuch des 11. Jahrhunderts aus Konstantinopel – Text, Übersetzung, Kommentar, Glossar*, eds. Dieter Rudolf Simon and Diether Roderich Reinsch, Forschungen zur byzantinischen Rechtsgeschichte, neue Folge 4 (Berlin, 2023), 61.6, p. 558, lines 1–2: ὁ δὲ ὕβρισεν τὸν κανδιδάτ(ον)·'κερατὰν, κούρβας υἱὸν'.

[114] See, for example, Achmed, *Oneirocriticon*, ed. Franz Drexl, *Achmes Oneirocriticon* (Leipzig, 1925), 77.9–12: καὶ ὅσον συνουσιάζει τις κατ΄ ὄναρ ἑταίραις γυναιξί, τοσοῦτον πλουτήσει φιλόκοσμος ὤν. ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν ἐυλαβῶν καὶ ἀναχωρητῶν ταῦτα εἰς θλῖψιν κρίνεται. The same interpretation in Artemidoros, *Oneirocriticon*, I.87, lines 3–14, ed. Roger Pack, *Artemidori Daldiani Onirocriticon Libri V* (Leipzig, 1963), with a negative value placed on the place of their work; see Michel Foucault, *Histoire de la sexualité. 3. Le souci de soi* (Paris, 1984), 31–32. For an interpretation of the logic behind relationships with prostitutes, see Steven Oberhelman, *Dreambooks in Byzantium: Six Oneirocritica in Translation* (Aldershot, 2008), 100, n. 364: "Sexual relations, as portrayed in all the Byzantine dreambooks, are cast in the framework of penetration and reception, domination and submission, profit and loss, taking pleasure and giving pleasure. Generally, the receptor of the penis can expect to receive some profit from the penetrator. To put it crudely, the person receiving semen will receive profit, and the one giving the semen will yield profit. Not all is loss for the penetrator, however, for he can expect joy and happiness, success in his business and way of life, and peace and stability in his domestic situation."

[115] Laniado, "La prostitution," 92.

[116] Dauphin, "Bordels," 124.

In the Byzantine imagination, things are even clearer. The majority of the texts tell us stories of integration rather than marginalization. More particularly, the challenge in hagiographic texts is not to convert the prostitute from marginality to normality, but from “normality” (for a poor woman with no family ties, for a captive or a slave or a perverted woman) to holiness (in most cases) or to the creation of a family.

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Günter Prinzing

Zeugnisse zur Prostitution in kirchlichen Gerichtsakten der spätbyzantinischen Zeit (13.–15. Jh.)

Kein Zweifel, zum römisch-antiken Erbe des etwa seit dem ausgehenden 4. Jh. zunehmend christlich geprägten Byzantinischen Reiches zählt auch die Prostitution.[1] Zu ihrer Bezeichnung diente im Griechischen allgemein, bis hinauf in die spätbyzantinische Zeit, der schon seit der Antike gebräuchliche Begriff *porneia/*πορνεία (Hurerei), dem seinerseits das Verb *porneuein* /πορνεύειν/πορνεύεσθαι (huren/sich prostituieren) bzw. das Substantiv *pornē/*πόρνη (Hure/Dirne/Prostitutierte) zuzuordnen sind.[2] Außerdem aber bedeutet der Begriff *porneia* auch „Unzucht“, weshalb er in diesem Sinne nicht nur in das byzantinische weltliche Recht, sondern (u. a. auf Grundlage alttestamentarischer Reinheitsbestimmungen, wie z. B. über das Inzestverbot),[3] auch Eingang in die christliche Morallehre und das Kirchenrecht fand.[4] So bleibt festzuhalten, dass *porneia* ein insgesamt breiteres Spektrum menschlicher Verhaltensweisen umfasst als allein die Prostitution, von der im Folgenden die Rede sein wird.

Nach herrschender Ansicht spricht man von Prostitution, wenn es um „die Vornahme sexueller Handlungen gegen Entgelt“ geht.[5] Dass dieser Sachverhalt auch für By-

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[1] Vgl. neben dem Artikel „Prostitution,“ in Wikipedia (https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Prostitution, Zugriff 21.1.2023), auch Stavroula Leontsini, *Die Prostitution im frühen Byzanz*, Dissertationen der Universität Wien 194 (Wien, 1989), und zuletzt Despoina Ariantzi, „Byzantinische Prostituierte zwischen Marginalisierung und Reintegration in die Gesellschaft,“ *Byz* 91 (2021): 1–45. Vgl. aber auch allgemein Johannes Koder, *Die Byzantiner: Kultur und Alltag im Mittelalter* (Wien, 2016), 163–190 (Kap. 6 Lebensgestaltung und Religiosität), bes. 171.

[2] *Ecloga. Das Gesetzbuch Leons III. und Konstantinos‘ V.*, hrsg. und übers. Ludwig Burgmann, Forschungen zur byzantinischen Rechtsgeschichte 10 (Frankfurt am Main, 1983), 276 (Index). Vgl. auch Leontsini, *Prostitution*, 12, 22–24, 26 und öfter (s. Index).

[3] Vgl. etwa die Einleitung zu: *Concilium Quinisextum, Das Konzil Quinisextum*, übersetzt und eingeleitet von Heinz Ohme, Fontes Christiani 82 (Turnhout, 2006), 86, Anm. 305, 238/9 (Kanon 44) und 258/9 (Kanon 67).

[4] Avishalom Laniado, „L’Empereur, la prostitution et le proxénétisme–droit Romain et morale chrétienne à Byzance,“ in *Le prince chrétien de Constantin aux royautés barbares (IVe -VIIIe siècle)*, hrsg. Sylvain Destephen, Bruno Dumézil und Hervé Inglebert, *TM* 22/2 (2018): 49–97. Laniado betont eingangs (50), dass er seine Untersuchung in Anlehnung an den modernen Sprachgebrauch auf die käufliche Prostitution von Frauen einschränkt, obwohl diese Einschränkung für den griechischen Begriff *porneia* nicht zutrifft. Dabei weist er auch (Anm. 4) auf neuere Arbeiten zur Prostitution im Byzanz der mittelbyzantinischen Zeit hin, darunter: Angeliki Laiou, „Sex, Consent and Coercion in Byzantium,“ in *Consent and Coercion to Sex and Marriage in Ancient and Medieval Societies*, hrsg. Angeliki Laiou (Washington, D.C., 1993), 109–221, hier 115, 117, 128–129, 132, 185–186. (vgl. auch den Index 291–298).

[5] Vgl. Wikipedia unter: „Prostitution“.

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zanz gilt, bestätigen z. B. die entsprechenden Artikel in einschlägigen Nachschlagewerken wie dem *Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium* und dem *Lexikon des Mittelalters* aus der Feder von Judith Herrin beziehungsweise Ewald Kislinger. Auch sie beschreiben die Prostitution als Mittel zum Gelderwerb, wenn Herrin vom „engaging in sexual intercourse in exchange for payment“ spricht,[6] oder Kislinger von der „gewerbsmäßige(n) Hingabe des eigenen Körpers an andere Personen zu deren sexueller Befriedigung“.[7] Doch Herrin konstatiert zu Recht, dass die wiederholt ergriffenen legislativen Maßnahmen der Kaiser bzw. der Kirche zur Eindämmung der Prostitution letztlich erfolglos blieben: „While laws forbade the exploitation of young girls as prostitutes (esp. Justinian I, nov. 14 pr[oem]) and the church regularly condemned prostitution (e.g. Council in Trullo, canon 86), both poor girls working for pimps (p*ornoboskoi*) and more professional theatrical performers (*skēnikai*) continued to provide sexual services.”[8]

Beide Artikel zeigen zudem, dass die (häufig armen Verhältnissen entstammenden) Prostituierten bis in die Spätzeit des Reiches vor allem in Bordellen und Gasthäusern städtischer Zentren ihre Kontakte anbahnten. Dabei waren es nachweislich Menschen weltlicher wie kirchlicher Kreise aller Schichten (selbst aus dem Umfeld des Hofes), die Umgang mit Prostituierten hatten. So verweist Herrin auf einen Passus des Historikers Niketas Choniates, aus dem hervorgeht, dass sich Kaiser Andronikos I. Komnenos (1183–1185) bei Ausflügen seines Hofes in die Umgebung der Hauptstadt außer mit Kurtisanen (*hetairides*), d. h. höfischen Dirnen, auch mit Konkubinen (*pallakai*), also Kebsfrauen, verlustiert habe.[9]

Ähnlich wie Herrin bezieht sich Kislinger mit seinen Quellenhinweisen auch nur auf die früh- und mittelbyzantinische Zeit, akzentuiert aber speziell medizinische Aspekte (mit Hinweis auf berufsbedingte Krankheiten) und Aspekte des Alltagslebens. Wichtig ist jedoch sein Hinweis, die *porneia* im Sinne der Prostitution sei „in Byzanz nur als weibliche Tätigkeit dokumentierbar,“ wobei er zurecht hinzufügt: „Schwierig gestaltet sich bisweilen in Rechtsquellen die Abgrenzung der Prostitution gegenüber der ebenfalls unter *porneia* – in breiterem [...] Sinn von Unzucht – subsumierten vor- und außerehelichen Sexualität auf unentgeltlicher Basis.“[10]

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[6] Judith Herrin, „Prostitution,“ in *ODB* 3:1741–1742. Zum Begriff *pornoboskos* vgl. Leontsini, *Prostitution*, 118, 177.

[7] Ewald Kislinger, „Prostitution,“ in *Lexikon des Mittelalters* 7:268–269.

[8] Herrin, „Prostitution,“ 1741. Vgl. auch zu den beiden angeführten Quellenstellen Laniado, „L’Empereur,“ 79 mit weiteren Hinweisen, und ergänzend zur frühbyzantinischen weltlichen Gesetzgebung bzw. zur kirchlichen Haltung zur Prostitution die gründliche Einleitung zu den Bestimmungen des Konzils in Trullo (von 691/2): Ohme, hrsg., *Concilium Quinisextum*, 9–155, zur Prostitution 94–97.

[9] *Nicetae Choniatae Historia*, hrsg. Jan-Louis van Dieten, CFHB 11/1 (Berlin, 1975), p. 321, Z. 20 und p. 322, Z. 41. Vgl. Hans-Georg Beck, *Byzantinisches Erotikon* (München, 1986), 137–138. und Laniado, „L’Empereur,“ 79. Bezüglich der Konkubinen bzw. Kebsfrauen ist festzuhalten, dass das Konkubinat in Byzanz zwar seit Kaiser Leon VI. verboten war, aber trotz des Verbots weiterhin praktiziert wurde, vgl. Judith Herrin and Alexander Kazhdan, „Concubinage,“ in *ODB* 1:493, und unten. Zum Begriff *hetairis* vgl. Leontsini, *Prostitution*, 27.

Stellt man nun – nach dem Blick auf Lexika – auch die Frage, ob und inwieweit denn Handbücher zur byzantinischen Reichsgeschichte oder Einführungen in die Byzantinistik auf die Prostitution zu sprechen kommen, fällt die Antwort eher enttäuschend aus. Weder Georg Ostrogorskys Handbuch zur Geschichte von Byzanz,[11] noch Peter Schreiners Grundriss zur Geschichte von Byzanz,[12] oder das dreibändige Handbuch *Le Monde Byzantin* befassen sich mit der Prostitution.[13] Doch bahnt sich hier eine Änderung an, abzulesen etwa an den knappen Hinweisen des Oxford-Handbuches zu Byzanz im Rahmen des Beitrags von Liz James[14] oder am Einführungswerk „Byzanz“ von Andreas Külzer mit dreimaliger Erwähnung der Prostitution, so z. B. im Zusammenhang mit Ehescheidungsgründen, wo es heißt: „Moralische Verfehlungen der Frau wie Ehebruch und Prostitution zogen ... die Scheidung nach sich.“[15] Auch das von Falko Daim herausgegebene „historisch-kulturwissenschaftliche Handbuch Byzanz“ räumt der Prostitution in dem von Charis Messis verfassten Abschnitt (3.4.) zur Sexualität, einen eigenen Teil (C.) zur Prostitution ein. Bei ihm geht es jedoch mehr um die Homosexualität als um die Prostitution im oben definierten Sinn. Nachdem sich auch seine Quellenhinweise zur Prostitution überwiegend auf die früh- u. mittelbyzantinische Zeit beziehen, schlägt er kurzerhand von da aus den Bogen zu „den Turnieren der Huren des Dichters Stephanos Sachlikis im 14. Jh.“, ohne recht zu bedenken, dass Sachlikis im venezianischen beherrschten und entsprechend akkulturierten Kreta schrieb.[16]

Im Folgenden gilt es darzulegen, ob und inwieweit man bei der Durchsicht der Quellen zur kirchlichen Gerichtsbarkeit der Byzantiner im Zeitraum 1204–1453 entweder auf konkrete Hinweise für die Praktizierung der Prostitution stößt oder – beim Fehlen letzterer – vielleicht doch Anhaltspunkte für die Annahme findet, dass der Prostitution Vorschub geleistet wurde oder dass sich unter den geschilderten Umständen die Ausübung von Prostitution jedenfalls nicht ausschließen lässt.

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[10] Vgl. Kislinger, „Prostitution,“ in *Lexikon des Mittelalters* 7:268.

[11] Georg Ostrogorsky, *Geschichte des byzantinischen Staates*, Byzantinisches Handbuch im Rahmen des Handbuchs der Altertumswissenschaft, I. Part, Bd. 2, 3. Auflage (München, 1963).

[12] Peter Schreiner, *Byzanz 565–1453*, Oldenbourg Grundriss der Geschichte 22, 4. Auflage (München, 2011).

[13] *L'Empire romain d'Orient (330–641)*, hrsg. Cécile Morrisson, Le Monde byzantin 1 (Paris, 2004); *L'Empire byzantin (641–1204)*, hrsg. Jean-Claude Cheynet, Le Monde byzantin 2 (Paris, 2006); *Byzance et ses voisins, XIII^{e}–XV^{e} siècle*, hrsg. Angeliki Laiou (†) und Cécile Morrisson, Le Monde byzantin 3 (Paris, 2011).

[14] Liz James, „The Role of Women,“ in *The Oxford Handbook of Byzantine Studies*, hrsg. Elizabeth Jeffreys, John Haldon und Robin Cormack (Oxford, 2008), 643–649, hier 644, 646, 648.

[15] Andreas Külzer, *Byzanz* (Stuttgart, 2012), 126 (Zitat), 122 und 128.

[16] Charis Messis, „Prostitution,“ in *Byzanz. Historisch-kulturwissenschaftliches Handbuch*, Der Neue Pauly. Supplemente 11, hrsg. Falko Daim (Stuttgart, 2016), 375–377, Zitat 376.

Die Prüfung des entsprechenden Quellenmaterials legt sich insofern nahe, als die kirchliche Gerichtsbarkeit nicht nur für disziplinarische Vergehen der Inhaber kirchlicher Ämter, also des Klerus, teils auch von Klosterinsassen (Mönche und Nonnen) zuständig war, sondern auch für Laien im Hinblick auf Verstöße gegen Bestimmungen des Erb- und Eherechts, wie z. B. Ehebruch oder die Vernachlässigung ehelicher Pflichten. Von daher wird verständlich, dass sich aus den Quellen zur kirchlichen Rechtsprechen oftmals wertvolle Aufschlüsse zu den Lebensumständen des gern beschworenen *homo byzantinus*[17] gewinnen lassen.

Einschränkend ist jedoch festzuhalten, dass zur byzantinischen weltlichen und kirchlichen Praxis der Rechtsprechung viel weniger Quellen zur Verfügung stehen als dies für die rechtlichen Normen (Gesetze und Verordnungen der Kaiser einerseits und kanonistische Bestimmungen der orthodoxen Kirche andererseits) der Fall ist. Der Grund hierfür ist, dass die Kirche im Lauf der Zeit immer mehr Einfluss auf die Regulierung und Gesetzgebung der Bereiche Ehe-, Familien- und Erbrecht erlangt hatte, so dass dementsprechend auch die kirchliche Gerichtsbarkeit auf diesem Sektor zunehmend an Gewicht gewann. Doch zu jeder Zeit war es dem Kaiser möglich, in ein Verfahren einzugreifen.

Gemäß der hierarchischen Struktur der Kirche sind bei der Rechtsprechung drei Ebenen zu unterscheiden: die niedrigste der jeweils regional zuständigen Ortsbischöfe, dann die nächsthöhere Ebene der den Ortsbischöfen (d. h. den sog. Suffraganbischöfen) übergeordneten Metropoliten (teils auch Erzbischöfe genannt) und zuletzt die oberste Ebene des Patriarchen von Konstantinopel, dem alle Metropoliten und Erzbischöfe des Reiches unterstanden. Nur die Oberhirten der sog. großen autokephalen byzantinischen Erzbistümer „Bulgarien“ (mit Sitz in Achrida/Ohrid)[18] und Kypros/Zypern (mit Sitz in Nikosia)[19] nahmen hierbei insofern lange Zeit eine Sonderstellung ein, da sie (mit ihren Suffraganen) vom Patriarchen formal unabhängig waren und nur dem Kaiser unterstanden. Somit war die kirchliche Hierarchie auf diesen zwei bzw. drei Ebenen mit Auseinandersetzungen über die Zulassung oder Gültigkeit von Verlobungen, Eheschließungen oder auch Ehescheidungs-Begehren einerseits, oder über erbrechtliche, ehe- (und familien-)rechtliche oder vermögensrechtliche Auseinandersetzungen andererseits, oftmals befasst. Obwohl sich die kirchliche Judikatur zu allen Epochen der byzantinischen Geschichte auch in schriftlicher Form niederschlug, hat sich davon aus dem Zeitraum vor 1204 viel weniger als aus spätbyzantinischer Zeit erhalten.

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[17] Alexander P. Kazhdan, „Der Mensch in der byzantinischen Literaturgeschichte,“ *JÖB* 28 (1979): 1–21; Alexander P. Kazhdan und Giles Constable, *People and Power in Byzantium. An Introduction to Modern Byzantine Studies* (Washington, D.C., 1982). Der Band umfasst acht Kapitel, von denen vier ausdrücklich um den *Homo byzantinus* kreisen, angefangen mit *„Homo byzantinus* in Society,“ 19–36.

[18] Vgl. Günter Prinzing, „Ohrid,“ in *Lexikon des Mittelalters* 6:1376–1380; Günter Prinzing, „The Autocephalous Byzantine Ecclesiastical Province of Bulgaria/Ohrid,“ *Bulgaria mediaevalis* 3 (2012): 355–383.

[19] Vgl. Hans-Georg Beck, *Kirche und theologische Literatur im byzantinischen Reich*, Byzantinisches Handbuch im Rahmen des Handbuchs der Altertumswissenschaft, Zweiter Teil, Bd. 1 (München, 1959), 68. Vgl. Auch Marie-Hélène Blanchet und Konstantinos Vetochnikov, „Les usages et les significations du terme «autocéphale» (αὐτοκέφαλος) à Byzance,“ in *Autocéphalies. L’exercice de l´indépendance dans les Églises slaves orientales (IXe–XXe siècle)*, hrsg. Marie-Hélène Blanchet, Frédéric Gabriel und Laurent Tatarenko, Collection de l’École française de Rome 572 (Rom, 2021), 47–64 (online unter https://doi.org/10.4000/books.efr.10643).

So liegen uns aus der spätbyzantinischen Epoche, welche die Zeit der Fragmentierung des Reiches durch den Lateinereinbruch 1204–1261 und die Epoche der Palaiologen 1261–1453 umfasst, drei Quellenkomplexe zur kirchlichen Rechtsprechung vor.

Hierbei handelt es sich 1. um Synodal-Urteile/-Bescheide oder briefliche Auskünfte des Metropoliten Ioannes Apokaukos von Naupaktos (1199/1200–1232),[20] 2. um das Corpus der *Ponēmata diaphora* [*Opera varia*] des autokephalen Erzbischofs Demetrios Chomatenos von Achrida/Ohrid (1216–1236)[21] und 3. um das als Original auf uns gekommene Patriarchats-Register von Konstantinopel (künftig: *PRK)*, das in den *Codices Vindobonenses hist. gr*. 47 und 48 aus dem Zeitraum 1315–73 und 1379–1402 überliefert ist und erstmals im 19. Jh. ediert wurde; seine vor Jahrzehnten in Angriff genommene finale Neuedition steht in absehbarer Zeit vor ihrem Abschluss.[22] Während sich die beiden erstgenannten Quellenkomplexe vor allem auf Gebiete der Provinz in Nordwestgriechenland (Makedonien und Epirus) und die ionischen Inseln beziehen, konzentrieren sich die Fälle des 3. Quellenkomplexes überwiegend auf den Raum Konstantinopel und die noch bei Byzanz verbliebenen östlichen Regionen der Balkanhalbinsel.

Von den Schriften des Ioannes Apokaukos sind, wenn ich recht sehe, nur zwei von ihm ausgestellte, doch undatiert überlieferte Ehescheidungsprotokolle für unsere Fragestellung heranzuziehen, so zunächst die Akte, die Evangelos Katerelos in seiner

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[20] Vgl. zu ihm zuletzt Spyros Troianos, *Die Quellen des byzantinischen Rechts*. Übersetzt von Dieter Simon und Silvia Neye (Berlin, 2017), 343–344. Seine verstreut edierten Schriften sind zugänglich in der Sammeledition *Ἅπαντα Ἰωάννου Ἀποκαύκου*, hrsg. Hieronymos K. Delemares (Naupaktos, 2000).

[21] Vgl. zu ihm *Demetrii Chomateni Ponemata diaphora*, hrsg. Günter Prinzing, CFHB 38 (Berlin, 2002), 3*–45*; Troianos, *Die Quellen*, 343, 345–346. Ergänzend Günter Prinzing, „Konvergenz und Divergenz zwischen dem Patriarchatsregister und den *Ponemata Diaphora* des Demetrios Chomatenos von Achrida/Ohrid," in *The Register of the Patriarchate of Constantinople. An Essential Source for the History and Church of Late Byzantium*, hrsg. Christian Gastgeber, Ekaterini Mitsiou und Johannes Preiser-Kapeller, ÖAW, Philosophisch Historische Klasse, Denkschriften 457, Veröffentlichungen zur Byzanzforschung 32 (Wien, 2013), 9–32; Günter Prinzing, „Adoleszenten in der kirchlichen Rechtsprechung der Byzantiner im Zeitraum 13.–14. Jahrhundert," in *Coming of Age in Byzantium. Adolescence and Society*, hrsg. Despoina Ariantzi, Millennium-Studien 69 (Berlin, 2018), 29–82, hier 33 und passim.

[22] *Das Register des Patriarchats von Konstantinopel*, 1. Teil [...], hrsg. Herbert Hunger und Otto Kresten, unter Mitarbeit von Carolina Cupane et. al., CFHB, 19/1 (Wien, 1981) [künftig: *PRK* I/II/III, mit wechselnden Herausgebern], bisher erschienen 3 Bände. Vgl. auch Troianos, *Die Quellen*, 346–348 mit weiteren Nachweisen.

Untersuchung über die von Apokaukos und Chomatenos behandelten Ehescheidungsfälle als Fall 18 bezeichnet.[23]

Aus seiner Sachverhaltsschilderung geht Folgendes hervor: Der Soldat Stephanos Mauromanikos war zur Kirche (sc. von Naupaktos) gekommen, um die Scheidung von seiner Frau Archonto [*Archontō*], Tochter des Basileios Klostos [*Klōstos*], zu beantragen. Dort machte er, wegen zeitweiliger Abwesenheit des Metropoliten (Apokaukos), vor dem örtlichen Klerus und dem Kastrophylax N. N. eine Aussage über Archontos aushäusiges Übernachten [*to exōkoiton*]. Die daraufhin vom Diakon Konstantinos Charsianites angestellte Untersuchung ergab, „dass sich die Angeklagte Archonto drei volle Nächte und ebensoviele Tage im Haus des Bäckers Theodoros verborgen aufgehalten hat." Nach Rückkehr des Metropoliten zu seiner Kirche wiederholte dort Mauromanikos seine Anklage, erhob indes auch andere Vorwürfe gegen seine Frau und betonte, sie habe sich auch mit verschiedenen Männern eingelassen. Er meinte dann zwar, er würde die Zügellosigkeit der Frau sowie die vielleicht außerhalb der Stadt heimlich und im Verborgenen geschehene Schande ertragen und, von Natur aus verschämt, auch die öffentliche Bloßstellung in Bezug auf ihre Taten zähneknirschend hinnehmen. „Das aber," was sie jüngst angestellt habe, „ertrage er auf gar keinen Fall, sagte er, wenn er nicht von der Frau geschieden und – um dasselbe zu sagen – von der gemeinsamen Schmach befreit werde, da alles Volk ihretwegen den Kopf schüttelt, mit den Augen zwinkert und auf ihn mit Fingern zeigt."

Daraufhin versammelte der Metropolit all jene, die in Kenntnis der Anklage an der Untersuchung des Sachverhalts beteiligt waren, zudem aber auch die Mutter (namens Alethine [*Alēthinē*]) der Archonto und diese selbst. Alle Genannten, einschließlich der beiden Frauen, bestätigten den geschilderten Sachverhalt: dass sich also Archonto an allen genannten Tagen gänzlich außerhalb der eigenen Wohnung, so auch des Ehebettes, befand. „Als aber Archonto von uns beschuldigt wurde, sich nicht bei ihrer eigenen Mutter befunden, sondern bei einem Fremden die Nacht verbracht zu haben", sagte sie zu ihrer Verteidigung, dass es hierzu gekommen sei, läge an ihrem Mann, denn, so sagte sie: „Er hat mich ständig handgreiflich bedrängt und meiner Mutter Kuppelei [*mastropeian*] vorgeworfen, wenn ich mich einmal bei ihr und dem väterlichen Haus aufhielt."

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[23] *Ἅπαντα Ἰωάννου Ἀποκαύκου*, 38, hrsg. Delemares, 447–449; Vgl. Kosmas Lambropoulos, *Ιωάννης Απόκαυκος. Συμβολή στην έρευνα του βίου και του συγγραφικού έργου του*/Ioannis Apocaucos. *A Contribution to the Study of his Life and Work*, Istorikes Monographies 6/Historical Monographs 6 (Athen, 1988), Nr. 38, 296–297; Antonia Kiousopoulou, *Θεσμός της οικογένειας στην Ήπειρο κατά τον 13*^{ον} *αιώνα*, Forschungen zur Byzantinischen Rechtsgeschichte, Athener Reihe 4 (Athen, 1990), 67, 125 und 170 und Evangelos Katerelos, *Die Auflösung der Ehe bei Demetrios Chomatenos und Johannes Apokaukos. Ein Beitrag zur byzantinischen Rechtsgeschichte des 13. Jahrhunderts*, Europäische Hochschulschriften, Serie 23/Bd. 450 (Frankfurt am Main, 1992), 30 (Fall 18), und 59–61 (hier die ganze, doch partiell fehlerhafte Übersetzung der Akte; alle folgenden Zitate halten sich in kritischer Anlehnung an diese Übersetzung, ansonsten paraphrasiere ich den Text der Akte).

Am Ende verfügte der Metropolit die Ehescheidung der beiden, weil sie nach weltlichem Gesetz und kirchlich für Aushäusigkeit der Frau vorgesehen ist und er zudem berücksichtigte, „daß diesem Paar ein Zusammenleben nicht mehr möglich ist und der eine dem anderen nach dem Leben trachten wird, er (der Mann), weil er über die Verfehlungen seiner Frau Bescheid weiß, sie aber, weil sie sieht, dass ihr Mann gegen sie bis zum äußersten vorgeht."[24]

Betrachtet man nun den Fall näher unter dem Aspekt eines möglichen Bezugs zur Prostitution, dann lassen sich der Sachverhaltsschilderung hierfür an sich keine konkreten Anhaltspunkte entnehmen. Denn ich vermute, dass der genannte fremde Bäcker Theodoros, der Archonto nach Erkenntnis des Gerichts an den drei vollen Tagen bei sich aufgenommen hatte, wohl auch mit ihr ein mehr oder weniger festes Verhältnis hatte. Falls aber Theodoros gar nicht Archontos heimlicher Freund war, könnte man theoretisch zwei vage Anhaltspunkte für mögliche Prostitution erblicken: Der erste bestünde darin, dem von ihrem Ehemann geäußerten (aber wohl eifersüchtig übersteigerten) Verdacht Glauben zu schenken, Archonto habe sich mit verschiedenen Männern eingelassen. Indes könnte es theoretisch auch so gewesen sein, dass Theodoros es ihr ermöglicht bzw. erlaubt hatte, sich in seinem Haus mit einem (oder sogar mehr als einem) anderen Mann zu treffen und insofern zu prostituieren. Das aber erscheint letztlich wenig glaubhaft, zumal eben auch niemand außer Archontos Ehemann derlei Mutmaßungen oder Verdächtigungen geäußert, geschweige denn bestätigt hat. Der andere Anhaltspunkt wäre darin zu erblicken, dass nach Archontos Aussage ihr Ehemann gegen seine Schwiegermutter ständig den Vorwurf der Kuppelei (*mastropeia/mastropia*) erhoben habe,[25] und zwar im Zusammenhang mit gelegentlichen Aufenthalten Archontos bei ihrer Mutter bzw. im väterlichen Haus. Denn dass Mauromanikos sich dieser Ausdrucksweise bediente, lässt sich kaum anders verstehen, als dass er zu wissen vorgab, seine Schwiegermutter habe sich als Kupplerin für ihre Tochter betätigt; mit anderen Worten: Archontos Mutter habe ihre Tochter darin unterstützt, sich zu prostituieren.

Mangels näherer Angaben und weil eben auch Apokaukos auf diese (von Archonto vorgebrachte) Behauptung des Ehemanns ebensowenig näher einging[26] wie auf die gerichtlich ermittelte Unterbringung Archontos beim Bäcker Theodoros, bleibt es insgesamt letztlich unklar, ob nun Archonto mit dem Bäcker Theodoros, in dessen Haus sie unterkam, ein Verhältnis hatte (was gut denkbar ist) und somit Ehebruch beging; oder ob sie sich bei Theodoros vielleicht nur einquartiert hatte, um möglicherweise dort mit verschiedenen anderen Männern verkehren zu können, also sich zu prostituieren. Letztere Vermutung indes erscheint unter Berücksichtigung des Kontextes der Akte als wenig plausibel.

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[24] *Ἅπαντα Ἰωάννου Ἀποκαύκου*, hrsg. Delemares, 448; Katerelos, *Auflösung*, 60–61, vgl. auch 140 zur juristischen Bewertung; aber auch unten Anm. 26.

[25] Vgl. Leontsini, *Prostitution*, 55 (zu *mastropeion*).

[26] Vgl. Katerelos, *Auflösung*, 141: „Apokaukos fällte das Scheidungsurteil aufgrund des Verlassens, wobei er den unbegründeten Einwand der Frau bezüglich der Kuppeleianschuldigung unberücksichtigt ließ." Letzteres ist zwar richtig, aber es erschließt sich dem Leser nicht, wieso Katerelos den Hinweis der Archonto auf die von ihrem Mann vorgebrachte Behauptung der Kuppelei (ihrer Mutter) für einen „unbegründeten Einwand" hält. Denn Katerelos geht nicht weiter darauf ein. Dabei läge es nahe anzunehmen, dass Archonto unbedingt für ihre Unschuld plädieren und den indirekt durch den Hinweis ihres Mannes gemachten Vorwurf der Prostitution zurückweisen wollte.

Das andere hier zu betrachtende Scheidungs-Protokoll des Apokaukos betrifft ein Ehepaar aus Naupaktos, Katerelos listet es als Fall Nr. 12.[27] Die Akte handelt davon, dass der Ehemann volle 12 Jahre lang seiner Frau nicht beigewohnt hatte, so dass sie ihn wegen seiner „Unbeweglichkeit zum Beischlaf" (sprich: Impotenz) bei Apokaukos anklagte. Dabei bekannte sie ihm allerdings auch, sich deswegen anderen Männern zugewandt zu haben. Ihr Mann bestätigte die Aussage seiner Frau und ließ diese „frei von der eigenen Hand." Apokaukos gestattete es somit, dass die Frau mit dem Mann, der ihr gefällt, die Ehe eingeht, „damit sie daher den Umgang mit anderen aufgibt."[28]

Nach der von Katerelos in seiner juristischen Auswertung begründeten Ansicht sah Apokaukos, trotz des erwiesenen Ehebruchs der Frau, von ihrer Bestrafung ab, weil er „die besonderen Umstände, unter denen das Verbrechen begangen wurde, berücksichtigte." Zudem kam es ihr zugute, dass ihr Ehemann den von ihr geschilderten Sachverhalt bestätigte und auch Apokaukos „vollständig von der Behauptung der Frau überzeugt war," weil "sie nicht gezögert hatte, ihren Ehebruch zuzugeben." Katerelos hält jedoch fest, dass trotz des Fehlens einer entsprechenden Bemerkung im Protokoll davon auszugehen sei, dass hier „das der Frau zustehende Recht auf Wiederheirat der Beschränkung unterliegen < musste >, daß sie jene Männer nicht [also: keinen derjenigen, G.P.] heiraten durfte, mit denen sie den Ehebruch begangen hatte."[29]

Wie man sieht, wird hier (anders als im ersten Fall) mit keinem Wort angedeutet, dass Prostitution mit im Spiel gewesen sein könnte, und doch ist sie nicht *a priori* auszuschließen. Denn wegen der äußersten Knappheit der Sachverhaltsschilderung und sonstiger Angaben der Akte bleiben die näheren Umstände des Verhältnisses der Frau zu ihren wechselnden Männerbekanntschaften zumindest in der Schwebe.

Nun zu den Akten der *Ponemata diaphora* des Erzbischofs Chomatenos, von denen m. E. nur vier (die Nrn. 23, 123, 136, 143) für unser Thema möglicherweise etwas beitragen können. Begonnen sei mit Akte Nr. 136, die bei Katerelos zu Recht fast ganz außer Betracht blieb, da in dem Fall keine Ehescheidung verfügt wurde. Vielmehr ging es um einen im Zeitraum 1219–1222 geschlossenen Vergleich im Streitverfahren zwischen dem verheirateten Töpfer Chrysos und seiner vormaligen Konkubine namens Tzola.[30] Den Hintergrund für das Streitverfahren bildet der Umstand, dass Chrysos während einer Hungersnot nicht nur seinen Heimatort Kastoria, sondern auch seine (ungenannte) Ehefrau verlassen hatte, sich dann nach Achrida begab und dort „mit einem ‚gewissen Fräulein‘ [*gynaikariō tini*] zusammenzog, das vlachischer Abkunft war, Tzola hieß und zum Schlag derjenigen gehörte, die nach Paulus (2. Tim. 3.6), mit Sünden beladen‘ sind und es mit gewissen üblen Tricks verstehen, Blicke der Männer auf sich zu ziehen.[31] Mit dieser Frau lebte er fortan im Konkubinat (*kata pallakismon*).“[32] Als Chrysos‘ Ehefrau einige Zeit später Bescheid wusste, zog sie hinter ihm her und spürte ihn bei der Konkubine auf. „Sie entriss ihn aus deren unzüchtigen [*pornikōn*] Armen und Fesseln zwar nicht ohne Mühe, aber unterstützt vom Gesetz und der Macht des christlichen Staates –, jene aber, mit ihren heillosen Tricks, vertrieb sie mit Gewalt, da die Böse der gerechten und guten Sache gar nichts entgegenzusetzen wusste.“[33] Tzola wandte sich daraufhin an das Gericht und brachte zu ihrer Verteidigung vor, was Chrysos derzeit besäße, hätten sie beide durch gemeinsame Arbeit und Mühe in der Zeit ihres Zusammenlebens erworben. Auf Rückfrage bestätigte Chrysos diesen Sachverhalt. Daher erhielt Tzola das Recht, Folgendes an sich zu nehmen: Eine Kuh mit einem zweijährigen Kalb, 30 Ellen Leinenstoff, zwei Schweine, einen Bienenstock, eine Eselsstute mit ihrem Fohlen und eine Wolldecke (sog. *Tzerga*). Damit zufrieden, verpflichtete sich Tzola, Chrysos nicht weiter zu behelligen. Zudem wurde bestimmt: Sollte sie wieder mit offenen oder dunklen Machenschaften Chrysos sexuell verführen oder ihn in Vermögensdingen belästigen, dann würde sie von Amts wegen mit Schlägen gezüchtigt werden und der angeführten Sachen verlustig gehen. Da über ein Aufflammen des Streitfalls nichts mehr verlautet, gaben sich anscheinend beide Seiten mit der Entscheidung des Gerichts zufrieden.

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[27] *Ἅπαντα Ἰωάννου Ἀποκαύκου*, hrsg. Delemares, 452, Nr. 42; Katerelos, *Auflösung*, 50, Nr. 12; Lambropoulos, *Συμβολή*, 297, Nr. 42.

[28] Katerelos, *Auflösung*, 50 (hier wieder paraphrasiert, auch wurden die Zitate in kritischer Anlehnung an den Text von Katerelos modifiziert wiedergegeben).

[29] Katerelos, *Auflösung*, 129 (nur hier die Zitate).

Die Besonderheit dieses Falles liegt weniger darin, dass er einen der nicht wenigen Belege für das faktische Fortbestehen des von Kaiser Leon VI. (886–912) abgeschafften Konkubinats beisteuert,[34] sondern darin, dass hier eine Frau, mit der ein zuvor bereits verheirateter (und nicht geschiedener) Mann anderwärts längerfristig ein stabiles außereheliches Verhältnis eingeht, nicht als Dirne/*pornē*, sondern (im Gegensatz zur ursprünglichen Bedeutung) als Konkubine (*pallakē*) bezeichnet wird. Den ehebrecherischen Charakter der Beziehung akzentuiert im Kontext der Sachverhaltsschilderung, wie von Angeliki Laiou dargelegt, nur das Adjektiv *pornikōn* im obigen Zitat.[35]

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[30] *Chomateni Ponemata*, Nr. 136, hrsg. Prinzing, 253* (Regest, mit Lit.-Angaben), 284* (formale Bestimmung), und Text: 409, Katerelos, *Auflösung*, 188–189.

[31] Zu diesem Verhalten vgl. Despoina Ariantzi, „Soziale Identitätsbildung im Jugendalter in Byzanz,“ in *Coming of Age. Adolescence and Society*, hrsg. Despoina Ariantzi, Millennium-Studien 69 (Berlin, 2018), 117–140 hier 132; Ariantzi, „Byzantinische Prostituierte,“ 12.

[32] *Chomateni Ponemata*, Nr. 136, Z. 4–9, hrsg. Prinzing, 409.

[33] *Chomateni Ponemata*, Nr. 136, Z. 11–15, hrsg. Prinzing, 409.

[34] Vgl. Judith Herrin und Alexander Kazhdan, „Concubinage,“ in *ODB* 1:493; Angeliki Laiou, „Contribution à l’institution familiale en Épire au XIII$^{\text{ème}}$ siècle,“ in *FM* 6, hrsg. Dieter Simon, Forschungen zur byzantinischen Rechtsgeschichte 11 (Frankfurt am Main, 1984), 275–323, hier 284.

Aus dieser Sicht erweist sich das Regest zur Akte, worin ich den ersten, auf Tzola bezüglichen Abschnitt dahingehend paraphrasiert hatte, dass Chrysos sich, nach Verlassen seiner Ehefrau von Kastoria nach Achrida begeben und dort „mit einer vlachischen Prostituierten als Konkubine zusammengelebt“ habe,[36] als ungenau. Weil aber dem Regest zufolge nur in dieser (aber in keiner anderen) Chomatenos-Akte scheinbar ausdrücklich von einer „Prostituierten“ gesprochen wird, erscheint es angebracht, auf diese Akte und ihren Text nochmals näher einzugehen.[37] Vergleicht man nun den Regest-Passus genau mit dem Wortlaut von § 1, dem Kontext, so erkennt man, dass sich die Bezeichnung der Tzola als „vlachische Prostituierte“ kaum halten lässt. Denn obwohl der Text Tzola maliziös als „gewisses Fräulein“ bezeichnet und sie unter Rückgriff auf das Paulus-Zitat als sündhaft hübsches Flittchen (oder ‚leichtes Mädchen‘) hinstellt, deren verführerischen Blicken Chrysos erlag, fehlt es doch an belastbaren Indizien, mit denen sich erhärten ließe, Tzola sei eine Prostituierte gewesen; daher war es höchst fragwürdig, dies aus den Andeutungen über ihren Lebenswandel abzuleiten. Ebenso fragwürdig wäre es, Mutmaßungen darüber anzustellen, ob Tzola vor ihrem Zusammenleben mit Chrysos möglicherweise eine Prostituierte war oder sich zeitweilig prostituiert hatte. Ob vielleicht auch Tzolas vlachische Abstammung, also ihre ethnische Identität, für die spürbar pejorative Charakteristik eine Rolle gespielt hat, sei dahingestellt: Wenn überhaupt, dann wohl nur unterschwellig.[38] Die Tatsache aber, dass Tzola anscheinend bis zu ihrem Aufspüren durch Chrysos‘ Ehefrau mit Chrysos in einer stabilen Beziehung lebte und nach ihrer Trennung von ihm das Gericht mit Erfolg dazu bewegen konnte, ihr eine angemessene Erstattung aus dem gemeinsam mit Chrysos erarbeiteten Besitz zuzubilligen, spricht eher dafür, dass sich das Gericht die anfänglich vorgenommene pejorative Charakteristik Tzolas nur bedingt zu eigen machte. Denn auch aus rechtlicher Sicht wäre an sich Chrysos als Ehebrecher zu bestrafen gewesen.[39] Jedenfalls verhalf das Gericht Tzola, offenbar in nüchterner Abwägung ihrer rechtlichen und materiellen Lage, durch sein weitgehendes Eingehen auf ihre Argumentation zu einer relativ gesicherten Existenz. (Ein bedingt ähnlicher Fall liegt in der Chomatenos-Akte Nr. 135 vor: Hier ging es um die Trennung einer Konkubine von ihrem allerdings nicht verheirateten Mann. Sie wollte ihn, da sie auch ein Kind im Säuglingsalter von ihm hatte, heiraten und glaubte, ein Anrecht darauf zu haben. Weil er sich aber weigerte, sprach das Gericht ihr mit dem Kind, zur Sicherung ihres Lebensunterhalts, die ihrem Mann gehörende Kuh zu und einen Anteil am Ertrag der Saatfrucht, woraufhin sich das Paar trennte).[40]

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[35] Vgl. oben Text Anm. 33 und dazu Laiou, „Contribution,“ 285–288.

[36] Vgl. Anm. 30 und den Text zu Anm. 32.

[37] Sie gehört, formal betrachtet, zu den ganz wenigen Akten der *Ponemata diaphora*, in denen jeder Hinweis auf den Aussteller fehlt und nur ihr objektiver Stil erkennen lässt, dass sie im Auftrag des Erzbischofs von einem Kanzleibeamten, wahrscheinlich dem Chartophylax, abgefasst und ausgestellt wurde, vgl. *Chomateni Ponemata*, hrsg. Prinzing, 284* und Prinzing, „Konvergenz und Divergenz,“ hier 31 (Tafel 3).

[38] Alexander Kazhdan, „Vlachs,“ in *ODB* 3:2183–2184.

[39] Vgl. Kiousopoulou, *Θεσμός*, 111–112, Laiou, „Sex, Consent and Coercion,“ 148.

Nun zur Akte Nr. 123 (Katerelos Fall 9): Sie bildet zur Akte Nr. 136 insofern ein Gegenstück, als auch in ihr (doch in keiner weiteren Chomatenos-Akte) laut Regest ausdrücklich von „Prostitution" die Rede ist. So ist auch in diesem Fall zu prüfen, worum es in diesem Fall geht und ob die Begrifflichkeit des Regests der Aussage des Textes entspricht. Es handelt sich um ein allein von Chomatenos gefälltes und ausgestelltes Urteil (aus der Zeit 1217–ca. 1223) im Scheidungsprozess des Ehepaares Mauros und Anna aus dem mutmaßlich im Sprengel von Achrida gelegenen Dorf Tzernisobista (slav. Černisovište). Beide waren vor dem Erzbischof erschienen. Mauros hatte die Scheidung wegen seiner schon vier Jahre bestehenden Impotenz beantragt, „um seine Frau vor dem möglichen Abgleiten in die Prostitution zu bewahren." Den Sachverhalt bestätigten außer Anna selbst auch einige der anwesenden und hierzu vom Erzbischof befragten Dorfnachbarn, woraufhin Chomatenos die Scheidung verfügte.[41] Der sich auf die Prostitution beziehende Passus lautet, er (Maurus) beantrage eine „[...] Scheidung, damit sich seine Frau [wörtl. diese Frau] auch niemals auf öffentlich angebotene Hurerei einlasse; denn sie werde eines solchen Fehltritts verdächtigt."[42]

Tatsächlich ist es unbestreitbar, dass Mauro befürchtete, seine Frau werde sich wegen seiner Impotenz möglicherweise prostituieren; um sie davor zu bewahren, stellte er den Antrag auf Scheidung.

Die anschließend zu besprechenden Chomatenos-Akten Nr. 23 (Katerelos Fall 20), und Nr. 143 (Katerelos Fall 19) betreffen jeweils Scheidungsurteile, die (wie die Nrn. 23 und 143, aber auch Nr. 136) von Kanzleibeamten im Auftrag des Erzbischofs ausgefertigt und ausgestellt wurden.[43] Auf den ersten Blick hin enthalten auch diese beiden Akten keinen klar erkennbaren Hinweis auf Prostitution, doch ist dieses Ergebnis vielleicht bei näherer Betrachtung etwas zu modifizieren:

Bei Akte Nr. 23 geht es um das Scheidungsbegehren des Zinsbauern Ioannes vom Hof des (vermutlich in Ohrid ansässigen) Kastron-Bewohners Basileios (des Sohnes der Boleslaba [sl. Boleslava])[44] gegen seine abwesende Ehefrau Eirene. Seiner Aussage nach habe diese ihn vor kurzem ohne sein Wissen verlassen und halte sich schon seit sechs Monaten in Prilapos (sl. Prilep, N. Makedonien) auf. Ioannes war daher gezwungen, seine Ehefrau vor Gericht zu bringen und durch eine Zeugenaussage ihren eigenmächtigen [*atakton*] Wegzug zu beweisen. So zeigte er dem Erzbischof ein Dokument, das zwei in Prilapos ansässige Geistliche unterschrieben hatten. Sie bestätigten, Eirene habe die angegebene Zeit in Prilapos schamlos [*anedēn*] verbracht und sich, als ihr Mann Ioannes sie kürzlich vor Gericht bringen wollte, im Dorf Bodanes (sl. Vodjani) plötzlich in den dortigen Fluss (wohl die Crna Reka, Nord-Makedonien)[45] gestürzt, sei aber von dem hochangesehenen Ortsvorsteher Kyr Gregorios Gabras und seinen Leuten vor dem Ertrinken gerettet worden. Gleich danach habe sie ausgesagt, sich beim nächsten Mal, wenn niemand zuschaue, endgültig ertränken zu wollen.

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[40] *Chomateni Ponemata*, Nr. 135, hrsg. Prinzing, 252*, Text 408, vgl. zuletzt: Prinzing, „Adoleszenten in der kirchlichen Rechtsprechung der Byzantiner," 29–82, hier 50 und 72.

[41] *Chomateni Ponemata*, Nr. 123, hrsg. Prinzing, 239* (Regest, samt Zitat, Lit), 273–274* und Text 391, Katerelos, *Auflösung*, 28, 48 (Übersetzung) und 124 (juristische Bewertung).

[42] *Chomateni Ponemata*, Nr. 124, hrsg. Prinzing, 392, Z. 7–9: ... τοῦ συνοικεσίου ἀποστασίαν, μή ποτέ, φησιν, ἡ τοιαύτη γυνὴ καὶ εἰς δεδημοσιευμένην πορνείαν ἐκκλίνειεν ὡς ὑποπτευομένη πρὸς τὸν τοιοῦτόν τινα ὄλισθον.

Meine Übersetzung des εἰς–πορνείαν ἐκκλίνειεν orientiert sich an der inhaltlich ähnlichen Parallelstelle in *PRK* I Nr. 46, 316, Z. 4. Katerelos, *Auflösung*, 48 übersetzt: „... damit, wie er sagte, diese Frau nicht zur öffentlichen Hurerei abgleite, da sie eines solchen Fehltritts verdächtig sei."

[43] *Chromateni Ponemata*, hrsg. Prinzing, 273*–274* bzw. 283* und Prinzing, „Konvergenz," 30–31 (Taf. III).

Ioannes erklärte, aus diesem Grund habe er seine Frau auch nicht gewaltsam zwingen können, zum Gericht zu kommen. Deshalb beantragte er die Scheidung und brachte auch drei namentlich angeführte Zeugen bei, alles Kleriker, „sowie andere, die sagten, sie wüssten zweifelsfrei, dass Eirene nicht nur eigenmächtig [*ataktōs*] nach Prilapos gegangen“ und dort schon so lange verblieben sei, sondern auch vor ihrem Fortgang keine gute Lebensweise im Haus ihres Mannes geführt, da sie täglich aus seinem Bett entwichen sei.“[46] Angesichts dieser Sachlage verfügte das Gericht die Scheidung der Ehe des Ioannes gemäß der einschlägigen Novelle Justinians (nach Basiliken 28,7,1), der zufolge „der Mann der Frau den Scheidungsbrief schicken darf, falls sie ohne sein Wissen außerhalb seiner Schlafstatt nicht in einem verwandtschaftlichen, sondern fremden Hause verweilt.“ Eirene wurde nicht nur genau deswegen verurteilt, sondern auch, „weil sie sich fernab in einer anderen Gegend sechs Monate lang aufhielt“.[47]

Im Scheidungsverfahren (Akte Nr. 143) des Ehepaares Anna und Nikos aus Prespa, welches in Achrida in Anwesenheit beider stattfand, beantragte die von ihrem Schwager Michos begleitete Anna die Scheidung mit folgender Begründung: Nach längerem Zusammenleben mit Nikos habe sie begonnen, ihn so sehr zu hassen, dass sie seinen Anblick nicht mehr ertragen konnte. Mehrmals ergriff sie die Flucht vor ihm und begab sich in fremde Gegenden. In ihrem Hass zog sie auch in Erwägung, sich das Leben zu nehmen. Um es aber nicht so weit kommen zu lassen, beantragte sie die Scheidung. Hierzu befragt, äußerte sich auch Nikos und bestätigte den Sachverhalt. Auch er beantragte die Scheidung, denn er könne den Hass Annas und den mehrfachen Ortswechsel bei der Suche nach ihr nicht mehr ertragen: All das bringe ihm ein unglückliches Leben und den Hohn der Leute ein.

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[44] Katerelos, *Auflösung*, 62 hat den Anfang der Akte an zwei Stellen missverstanden: 1. mit der Übersetzung: „Johannes, der am Hof des kaiserlichen Lagers von Boleslaia Befehlshaber war“, und 2. mit der Zuschreibung des Scheidungsgesuches an Eirene statt an Ioannes. Das Satzende „καὶ κομίσασθαι διαζύγιον“ ist noch abhängig von dem „εἰς τὸ“ in Z. 2, vgl. aber auch im Schlussteil der Akte die Z. 46.

[45] Vassiliki Kravari, *Villes et villages de Macédoine occidentale*, Réalités Byzantines 2 (Paris, 1989), 239, 349.

[46] Vgl. *Chomateni Ponemata*, Nr. 23, Z. 31–36, hrsg. Prinzing, 93. Die in Zeile 36 zu ἐκπορεύσασα (statt ἐκπορνεύσασα der Edition Pitra) korrigierte Lesart meiner Ausgabe erweist die Pitras Edition folgende Übersetzung von Katerelos, *Auflösung*, 63 („da sie jeden Tag Unzucht begangen habe“) als gegenstandslos. Zitate aus ihm erfolgen auch hier (und unten) in kritischer Anlehnung an seine Übersetzung.

[47] *Chomateni Ponemata*, Nr. 23, hrsg. Prinzing, Regest 89*–90*, Text 92–93; Z. 41–46, vgl. auch die (partiell fehlerhafte) Übersetzung der Akte bei Katerelos, *Auflösung*, 62.

Nachdem Nikos seine Aussage beendet hatte, bedachte der Erzbischof den Fall und hielt die Ursache des Hasses für schwerwiegend, ja potenziell gefährlich. Doch hielt er für noch „gewichtiger Annas Weggang in die Fremde [*xenēlasian*], welcher die Vermutung eines gesetzwidrigen (Geschlechts-)Verkehrs [a*thesmu mixeōs*] hervorruft“. Daher beschloss er die Trennung der beiden „aus den oben erwähnten Gründen und wegen der daraus entstehenden Freveltaten [*anosiurgēmata*],“ so dass sie ihre jeweiligen Angelegenheiten nach Belieben regeln konnten.[48]

Was ergibt sich nun aus dem Vergleich beider Akten und ihres jeweiligen Sachverhalts im Hinblick auf Anhaltspunkte dafür, dass sich die Ehefrauen möglicherweise prostituiert haben? Wie angedeutet, fehlt es an expliziten Hinweisen in beiden Texten. Aber wie steht es mit indirekten Hinweisen oder Anhaltspunkten? Diese gibt es zwar in beiden Texten, doch lassen sich diese Anhaltspunkte eben nur auf der Basis teilweise spekulativer Überlegungen benennen.

So finden sich im Rahmen der Akte Nr. 23 folgende vier Anhaltspunkte (= A. in Stichworten; in Klammern Zeilenangaben). A.1 (4–5): der halbjährige Aufenthalt Eirenes in Prilapos, A. 2 (13): ihr schamloser Aufenthalt ebenda, A. 3 (34–36): ihre zuvor ungute Lebensweise im Hause ihres Ehemannes, speziell: ihr tägliches Entweichen aus dem Ehebett, und A. 4 (44–45): ihr Aufenthalt in fremden Häusern, sechs Monate lang, fernab in einer anderen Gegend. Ohne dass weitere Details über ihr schamloses Verhalten angeführt werden, lässt sich anhand der genannten Fakten nicht *a priori* ausschließen, dass sich Eirene möglicherweise prostituiert hat. Es war jedoch (nicht zuletzt aus Sicht des Gerichts) unnötig, diesbezüglich weitere Nachforschungen anzustellen, weil die genannten Fakten völlig genügten, dem Antrag auf Scheidung stattzugeben. Die Akte Nr. 143 indes enthält nur insofern zwei indirekte, doch ganz vage Anhaltspunkte für eventuelle stattgefundene Prostitution, als allein schon der vom Hass bedingte Wegzug Annas von ihrem Ehemann in die Fremde den Verdacht aufkommen ließ, sie könne unter diesen Umständen moralisch-sittliche Freveltaten (inklusive Ehebruch) begangen haben.

Nach Durchsicht der besprochenen Akten des Ioannes Apokaukos und Demetrios Chomatenos ergibt sich folgendes Zwischenergebnis: Alle besprochenen Fälle betreffen weltliche Personen, Frauen und Männer (unter ihnen ein Zinsbauer, ein wohl einfaches, dörfliches Ehepaar, ein Soldat, ein Handwerker, ein ‚Bürger‘, keiner aus der Oberschicht); sofern Kleriker erwähnt werden, geschieht das, weil sie als Zeugen oder Mitglieder der kirchlichen Gerichtsbarkeit vorkommen. In nur einer der besprochenen Akten (Chomatenos Nr. 123) ist explizit von möglicher Prostitution die Rede; in den übrigen Fällen wird auf sie allenfalls nur andeutungsweise (höchst indirekt) angespielt, weil sich anhand der jeweils geschilderten Umstände nicht *a priori* ausschließen lässt, dass im Hintergrund auch Prostitution eine Rolle gespielt haben könnte.

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[48] *Chomateni Ponemata*, Nr. 143, Z. 28–30, 33–34, hrsg. Prinzing, Regest 259*–260*, Text 419–420, hier 419, und die (partiell fehlerhafte) Übersetzung von Katerelos, *Auflösung*, 61–62, Zitate: 62.

Was nun die Palaiologenzeit betrifft, so liegen m.W. aus der frühen Palaiologenzeit keine einschlägigen Zeugnisse vor, doch stammt aus dem Beginn der 2. Amtszeit Patriarch Athanasios‘ I. (1289–1293; 1303–1309)[49] ein interessantes, aber für unsere Fragestellung nur bedingt einschlägiges Zeugnis aus der Rechtsprechung: Es verdankt sich dem energischen Versuch des Patriarchen, im Zusammenwirken mit Kaiser Andronikos II. Palaiologos (1282–1328)[50] unter anderem auch streng gegen die Prostitution vorzugehen. Die Initiative dazu ging von Athanasios I. aus: Er hatte mit seiner Ständigen Synode/*Synodos endēmusa* im Oktober 1304 den Kaiser aufgefordert, einen von ihr beschlossenen umfangreichen Maßnahmenkatalog zu bestätigen und zum Gesetz zu erheben.[51] Als Andronikos II. im Mai 1306[52] die entsprechende Gesetzesnovelle erließ, geschah dies angesichts weithin herrschender Not in der Hauptstadt samt ihren thrakischen und kleinasiatischen Nachbarregionen: Auslöser der seit 1303 angebahnten Notlage waren eine Hungersnot und Scharen von Flüchtlingen, die vor den Angriffen von Katalanen, Türken und Bulgaren in der Hauptstadt Schutz suchten.[53]

Die Dispositio der Novelle besteht gleichsam aus 12 Paragraphen, von denen drei sich mehr oder weniger direkt (auch) auf die Prostitution beziehen: In § 2 heißt es anfangs, man solle „allen unseren Städten verkünden, niemand dürfe zum Groll Gottes und zum Schaden der Seele Schandtaten begehen, d. h Hurerei, Ehebruch, Mannstollheit (Sodomie), Inzest, Unrecht oder Magie.“[54] Nach § 3 sei u. a. zu beachten, dass „keine Frau, und vor allem keine Jungfrau, ihre Ehre einfach an einen sie begehrenden Mann wegwirft“, dass aber diejenige, die „sich freiwillig jemandem hingibt, geschoren und mit einem Schandumzug bestraft werden soll.“[55] Und in § 8 heißt es: „Wenn aber auch einer von diesen [scil. den zuvor in § 7 genannten Schankwirten oder Weinverkäufern, G.P.] dabei ertappt wird, schändliche Frauen zur Seelen-Verführung zu beschäftigen, solle man ihn, da er die Strafe des Kanons nicht fürchtet, mit Konfiskation bestrafen.“[56] Das war nicht zuletzt eine verkappte Warnung an Zuhälter und Bordellbetreiber.[57]

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[49] Vgl. zu ihm Hans-Georg Beck, *Geschichte der orthodoxen Kirche im byzantinischen Reich.* Die Kirche in ihrer Geschichte, 1. D, 1 (Göttingen, 1980), 204, 207, 209–210, Alice-Mary Talbot, „Athanasios I,“ in *ODB* 1:218–219 und Eirini Afentoulidou-Leitgeb, *Die Hymnen des Theoktistos Studites auf Athanasios I. von Konstantinopel. Einleitung, Edition, Kommentar*, Wiener Byzantinistische Studien 27 (Wien, 2008), hier 55–81 (Leben und Nachleben des Athanasios I.).

[50] Vgl. zu ihm Alice-Mary Talbot, „Andronikos II Palaiologos,“ in *ODB* 1:94–95.

[51] *Jus Graecoromanum*, hrsg. Ioannes Zepos und Panagiotes Zepos, 8 Bde. (Athen, 1931; repr. Aalen, 1962), hier 1:533–536. Vgl. Vitalien Laurent, *Les regestes des Actes du patriarcat de Constantinople, I: Les Actes des patriarches, fasc. IV: Les regestes de 1208 à 1309* (Paris, 1971), Nr. 1607, 389–395.

[52] *JGR* 1:533–536. Vgl. Franz Dölger, *Regesten der Kaiserurkunden des oströmischen Reiches von 565–1453, 4.Teil: Regesten von 1282–1341* (München, 1960), Nr. 2295; eingehend zu ihren Bestimmungen (inklusive denen der Patriarchalsynode) John L. Boojamra, *The Church and Social Reform. The Policies of the Patriarch Athanasios of Constantinople* (New York, 1993), 138–145, ergänzend Troianos, *Die Quellen*, 310–311, Beck, *Byzantinisches Erotikon*, 183–184. Leider übergeht Klaus-Peter Matschke, „Politik und Kirche im spätbyzantinischen Reich“ (Erstpublikation 1966), Nachdruck in: Klaus-Peter Matschke, *Das spätbyzantinische Konstantinopel. Alte und neue Beiträge zur Stadtgeschichte zwischen 1261 und 1453*, Byzanz, Islam und Christlicher Orient 2 (Hamburg, 2008), 89–113, hier 107–108, die Bestimmungen der Novelle von 1306.

[53] Vgl. Donald M. Nicol, *The Last Centuries of Byzantium 1261–1453*, 2. Auflage (Cambridge, 1993), 128–133; Angeliki Laiou, „The Provisioning of Constantinople during the Winter of 1304–1307,“ *Byz* 37 (1967): 91–113; Boojamra, *The Church*, 107–121.

Die Wirkung der Novelle ist schwer einzuschätzen. Denn mag es auch zutreffen, dass Kaiser Andronikos II., Patriarch Athanasios I. und der Episkopat angesichts der Folgen der oben angedeuteten Notlage (und entsprechend misslicher Begleitumstände) allen Anlass gehabt hatten, gegen die in der Novelle angeführten „schweren Unzuchtsverbrechen“ (Dölgers Oberbegriff im Regest für die in § 2 angeführten Vergehen) vorzugehen, so fehlt es doch weitgehend (quantitativ und qualitativ) an konkreten Anhaltspunkten und Belegen, mit denen sich der letztlich nur pauschal zum Ausdruck gebrachte Verdacht auf die tatsächliche Ausübung derartiger Delikte untermauern ließe;[58] zumal sich auch die dem Gesetz folgenden Schreiben aus der zweiten Amtszeit des Athanasios darüber weitgehend ausschweigen.[59]

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[54] *JGR* 1:534: Καὶ ἵνα πάσαις ἡμετέραις πόλεσι κηρυχθῇ μηδένα κατατολμᾶν ἀναίδην ὅσα εἰς χόλον θεοῦ καὶ βλάβην ψυχῶν διαπράττεσθαι, πορνείαν φημὶ καὶ μοιχείαν, ἀῤῥενομανίαν, αἱμομιξίαν ἢ ἀδικίαν ἢ γοητείαν καὶ ὅσα τοιαῦτα τελεῖν [...].

[55] *JGR* 1:35: Καὶ ἵνα ... στερχθῇ, γυναῖκα μὴ ἐπιῤῥίπτειν αὐτῆς τὴν τιμὴν καὶ μᾶλλον παρθένον τῷ βουλομένῳ. [...] · εἰ δὲ ἐκδῷ ἑαυτὴν ἀβιάστως, κουρᾷ καῖ πομπῇ σωφρονίζεσθαι.

[56] *JGR* 1:536: Εἰ δὲ καὶ γύναια φαῦλα τούτων τὶς φωραθῇ ἐπ᾽ ὀλίσθῳ ἔχειν ψυχῶν, τοῦ κανόνος μὴ φρίττων τὸ ἐπιτίμιον, ὑποκείσθω δημεύσει.

[57] Vgl. Boojamra, *The Church*, 142.

[58] Vgl. aber ein einschlägiges Quellenzeugnis aus etwas späterer Zeit: Es bezieht sich auf die merkwürdig verschleierten, skandalösen Umstände, die dem Historiker Nikephoros Gregoras (1291/94–1358/61) zufolge zum (angeblich) versehentlichen Tod des Despotes Manuel, eines Enkels von Andronikos II., führten. Dazu kam es, als Manuels Bruder Andronikos (III.), damals (1320) noch Mitkaiser Andronikos’ II., eine von ihm verehrte ‚Hetäre‘ nächtens aufsuchen wollte, wobei er seine Leibwache zuvor angewiesen hatte, einen (ihm offenbar bekannten) anderen Kunden der Dame bei dessen Auftauchen aus dem Weg zu räumen; der Mann aber, den seine Leute, ohne ihn in der Dunkelheit erkannt zu haben, umbrachten, war Manuel, der Bruder Andronikos‘ III.! Siehe *Nicephori Gregorae Byzantina Historia*, hrsg. Ludwig Schopen, Bd. 1 (Bonn, 1829–1830), 285–286, und Nikephoros Gregoras, *Rhomäische Geschichte, Historia Rhomaike*, *Zweiter Teil (Kapitel VIII–XII),* 1. Halbband, Bibliothek der griechischen Literatur, übersetzt und erläutert von Jan-Louis van Dieten (Stuttgart, 1979), 22, 104, Anm. 5; vgl. dazu Beck, *Erotikon*, 185–186. und zuletzt Helga Gickler, *Kaiser Michael IX. Palaiologos: sein Leben und Wirken. Eine biographische Annäherung*, Studien und Text zur Byzantinistik 9 (Frankfurt am Main, 2015), 186–187.

[59] Vgl. sein undatiertes Entalma, Laurent, *Regestes*, Nr. 1747 an alle Metropoliten des Reiches, das wieder zahlreiche (27) Anweisungen, Ver- und Gebote umfasst (u. a. gegen Prostitution und Bordelle), jedoch auch im Allgemeinen bleibt, vgl. Boojamra, *The Church*, 142.

Zieht man aber nun für die Suche nach Fällen von Prostitution das eingangs erwähnte Patriarchatsregister heran, so wird man hier fündig: Denn ers**tmals** werden, anders als in den zuvor besprochenen Fällen von möglicherweise praktizierter Prostitution in der Provinz aus dem 13. Jh., nun konkrete Fälle greifbar. Sie trugen sich ausschließlich im klerikalen bzw. klösterlichen Milieu der Hauptstadt zu.

Der erste Fall betrifft das „berühmte Kloster der wegweisenden Gottesmutter (*Monē tēs Theotoku tōn Hodēgōn* oder *tēs Hodēgētrias*)“ in Konstantinopel, das sich durch Verfügung Kaiser Johannes‘ I. Tzimiskes (969–976) seit 970 im Besitz der Patriarchen von Antiocheia befand und ihnen beziehungsweise Klerikern ihres Patriarchats bis Ende des 14. Jahrhunderts als Residenz bei Aufenthalten in der Stadt am Bosporus diente.[60] Daher unterstand es rechtlich sowohl dem Patriarchat Antiocheia als auch der Oberaufsicht des höherrangigen ökumenischen Patriarchen.[61] Dieser Umstand schuf zum einen günstige Voraussetzungen dafür, dass sich während der palamitischen Kontroverse im Schutz der Mauern dieses Klosters ein von Antiocheia gestütztes „Zentrum der antipalamitischen Opposition“ entwickeln und sich sogar noch längere Zeit über den im Jahr 1351 erfolgten Sieg des Palamismus hinaus halten konnte;[62] zum anderen war es diese Rechtslage, die es dem Patriarchen Kallistos I. (Juni 1350–14. August 1353; 1355–1363) ermöglichte, zum rechten Moment gegen skandalöse Vorgänge im Bereich des Klosters vorzugehen.

Nähere Einzelheiten hierzu teilte Kallistos 1361 oder 1362 im Brief *PRK* Nr. 239 seinem Amtsbruder Ignatios II. von Antiocheia (1344–vor 1365) mit: Darin betont er, zwar schon seit längerem über das zügellose Treiben des Priesters Ananias und seiner Kumpane (*symmystai*) im Kloster informiert gewesen zu sein, doch aus Rücksicht auf die Klosterinsassen geschwiegen zu haben. Festzuhalten ist, dass Ananias pikanterweise ein Neffe des Metropoliten Arsenios von Tyros und gleichzeitigen Abtes des Hodegon-Klosters (etwa ca. 1351–ca. 1361) war. Nachdem aber der kürzlich ins Gebiet seines Sprengels zurückgekehrte Arsenios auch ihm, Ignatios, einen Besuch abgestattet hatte, bei dem er ihn „dazu überredete, dem erwähnten Ananias die Abtswürde des [...] verehrungswürdigen < Hodegon- > Klosters zu übertragen“, da habe „sie dieser zum Verderben seiner eigenen Seele“ empfangen und sich „vollkommen dem Bösen“ verschrieben, um sich „niedrigen Ausschweifungen“ hinzugeben: „Er wohnte ungehemmt einer Hure in seiner Zelle bei und verkehrt fast jede Nacht in zügelloser Weise mit ihr [...].“ Angesichts allgemeiner Entrüstung ob dieser Gesetzwidrigkeit [*anomian*] sah sich Kallistos genötigt, „die Sache“ zu überprüfen. Höchstselbst begab er sich „eines Nachts“ zum Kloster, wo er feststellte, dass Ananias „mit der erwähnten Hure schlief und das Lager teilte,“ hatte er ihn doch *in flagranti* ertappt, „wie er die Schande der Hurerei [*porneias*] beging.“ Umgehend enthob Kallistos kraft seiner ökumenischen Stellung Ananias seiner Abtswürde, setzte mit Billigung des Kaisers einen Nachfolger für ihn ein und bestätigte zugleich Ignatios, er behalte seine bisherige Rechtsaufsicht über das Kloster.[63]

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[60] Vgl. Alice-Mary Talbot, „Hodegon Monastery,“ in *ODB* 2:939; Klaus-Peter Todt, *Dukat und griechisch-orthodoxes Patriarchat von Antiocheia in mittelbyzantinischer Zeit (969–1084)*, Mainzer Veröffentlichungen zur Byzantinistik 24 (Wiesbaden, 2020), 432–433, und Klaus-Peter Todt, „The Patriarchate of Constantinople and the Greek-Orthodox Patriarchates of the East,“ in *A Companion to the Patriarchate of Constantinople*, hrsg. Christian Gastgeber, Ekaterini Mitsiou, Johannes Preiser-Kapeller und Vratislav Zervan, Brill’s Companion to the Byzantine World 9 (Leiden, 2021), 130–144, hier 141. Zur Baugeschichte und Lage des Klosters vgl. Vassilios Kidonopoulos, *Bauten in Konstantinopel 1204–1328. Verfall und Zerstörung, Restaurierung, Umbau und Neubau von Profan- und Sakralbauten*, Mainzer Veröffentlichungen zur Byzantinistik 1 (Wiesbaden, 1994), 77–78, hier besonders 78.

[61] Vgl. Otto Kresten, *Die Beziehungen zwischen den Patriarchaten von Konstantinopel und Antiocheia unter Kallistos I. und Philotheos Kokkinos im Spiegel des Patriarchatsregisters von Konstantinopel*, Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur. Abhandlungen der Geistes- und sozialwissenschaftlichen Klasse, Jahrgang 200, Nr. 6 (Mainz, 2000), 16–19.

[62] Vgl. Beck, *Geschichte*, 218–226, hier 224, Klaus-Peter Todt, „Das ökumenische Patriarchat von Konstantinopel und die griechisch-orthodoxen (melkitischen) Patriarchate unter muslimischer Herrschaft,“ *Historicum* 96 (2007): 54–61, hier 56–57, Klaus-Peter Todt, *Dukat*, 505–506, und Johannes Preiser-Kapeller, „Die palamitische Kontroverse,“ in Daim, *Byzanz*, 562–563.

Ergänzend hierzu ergibt sich aus *PRK* Nr. 265 Folgendes: Als Kallistos nach Erhalt entsprechender Hinweise auf weitere derartige Vergehen durch andere, wie etwa den Mönch Ioasaph, die Untersuchungen im Kloster fortsetzte, zwang er die Mönche unter Androhung der Exkommunikation, nähere Angaben zu machen „über den Mönch Ioasaph und die anderen“ Verdächtigen. Daraufhin bestätigten sie „übereinstimmend“ [...], dass dieser Ioasaph verdächtigt werde, mit der [...] „Moschonu [Μοσχονοῦ], die ebenfalls eine schlechte und fehlgeleitete Frau sei, Unzucht begangen zu haben.“ Nach Aussage des Pförtners, sei Moschonu ständig ins Kloster hereingekommen, um dann später die Zelle Ioasaphs wieder zu verlassen. Ein anderer (Mönch) sagte aus, er habe gesehen, dass „Ioasaph nachts, während in der Kirche gesungen wurde,“ sich mit der Moschonu unterhielt und mit ihr wegging. Daher entschied Kallistos, im Dezember 1362, Ioasaph seines Priesteramts zu entheben.[64]

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[63] *PRK* III, Nr. 239, S. 376/377–384/385 (synopt. griech./dtsch.), besonders 380/381–382/383 für die Zitate. Vgl. Jean Darrouzès, *Les regestes des actes du patriarcat de Constantinople, vol. I: Les actes des patriarches,* Fasz. V, *Les regestes de 1310 à 1376* (Paris, 1977), Nr. 2397; vgl. auch Akte *PRK* III, Nr. 265 (vom Dezember 1362), 578/579–580/581, hier 580/581, die sich anfangs noch zusammenfassend auf den Fall des Ananias bezieht, wobei aber hier das (wie zuvor in Akte Nr. 239) gebrauchte Begriffspaar πόρνῃ γυναικὶ statt mit „Hure“ mit „Prostituierte“ übersetzt wurde. – Vgl. zum Sachverhalt der Akte 239 Kresten, *Die Beziehungen*, 12–22, bes.19–21, 40–42 und 44–45 und (bes. zu Arsenios von Tyros 75–78). Ekaterini Mitsiou, „Das Leben der Kirche von Konstantinopel im Spiegel des Patriarchatsregisters. Zwischen Ideal und Devianz – Mönche, Kleriker, Laien, Konvertiten, Häretiker und Zauberer,“ *Ostkirchliche Studien* 58 (2009): 208–225, hier 212–213 und Günter Prinzing, „Verstöße gegen die Regel in spätbyzantinischen Klöstern aus der Sicht kirchlicher Gerichtsbarkeit des Ökumenischen Patriarchats,“ in *Monastische Kultur als transkulturelles Phänomen. Beiträge zu einer deutsch-russischen interdisziplinären Tagung in Vladimir und Suzdal’*, hrsg. Ludwig Steindorff und Oliver Auge in Verbindung mit Andrej Doronin, Veröffentlichungen des Deutschen Historischen Instituts Moskau 4 (Berlin, 2016), 75–90 (mit 5 Abb.), hier 84–85, vgl. die überarbeitete russische Übersetzung: idem [Princing], „Нарушения норм монашеской жизни в поздневизантийских монастырях в свете судопроизводства Вселенского патриархата“, in Ljudvig Štajndorff [Steindorff]/A.V. Doronin (otvetstvennye sostaviteli), *Монастырская культура как трансконфессиональный феномен* (Moskau, 2020), 80–93 (mit 5 Abb.), hier 86–87.

So viel zu den skandalösen Affären des Ananias und Ioasaph, die sich vor dem komplexen Hintergrund der oben angedeuteten kirchenpolitischen Auseinandersetzungen zwischen Konstantinopel und Antiocheia zutrugen. Mag sie auch ursächlich nichts mit dem Kern der Streitigkeiten verbunden haben, so boten sie doch Kallistos einen vermutlich willkommenen Grund, entschieden durchzugreifen und so seine Autorität gegenüber Antiocheia demonstrativ zu stärken.[65]

Ein weiterer klarer Fall von Prostitution lässt sich aus dem leider unvollständig überlieferten Synodalurteil (*PRK* Nr. 205) des Patriarchen Philotheos Kokkinos (von September 1353–Ende 1354) erschließen, mit dem der Priestermönch Ioannikios des Peribleptos-Klosters wegen unzüchtigen Lebenswandels des Priesteramts enthoben wurde. Begründung: Er war nach seiner Heirat weltlicher Priester geworden. Noch jung an Jahren verwitwet, genoss er keinen guten Ruf. Der hohe Patriarchal-Kleriker Michael Kabasilas sorgte dann dafür, dass Ioannikios im Peribleptos-Kloster Mönch wurde, doch Ioannikios setzte seinen schlechten Umgang, zunächst unentdeckt, ungeniert fort. Jüngst aber befreundete er sich zu seinem Schaden mit dem suspekten Mönch Hesaias und besuchte mit ihm das „offenkundig verrufene Haus der Tochter des verstorbenen Mannes mit dem Beinamen Thiniates, der Nonne ... namens Thiniatissa“, die bereits vor ihrer Einkleidung als Nonne für ihren ausschweifenden Lebenswandel berüchtigt war und auf viele einen schlechten Einfluss ausübte. Scheinbar Nonne geworden, blieb sie weiterhin im selben Haus wohnen, machte vollends ein Bordell [*chamaitypeion*] daraus „und wurde für die jüngeren Nonnen zur Zuhälterin [*mastropon*], was nicht geschehen hätte sollen.“ Ioannikios verkehrte dort „regelmäßig“, meist begleitet von Hesaias sowie einer (ungenannten) Nonne, und „tat was zu erwarten war,“ freilich einstweilen ganz im Verborgenen, ohne Wissen des Patriarchen, dessen an „Priester und Mönche“ ergangene Anweisungen und Ermahnungen, sich sittsam und gottgefällig zu benehmen, „von unzüchtigen Handlungen“ abzusehen und sich von schlechter Gesellschaft fernzuhalten, ihn nicht kümmerten.

Als er nun eines Tages wieder in gewohnter Begleitung „den besagten Sündenpfuhl dieser Thiniatissa“ aufsuchte, lauerten ihm und seiner Begleitung „andere“

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64 *PRK* III, Nr. 265, 580/581 (hier auch die Zitate); vgl. Darrouzès, *Les regestes*, V, Nr. 2385 (mit irriger, jedoch im *PRK* von Kresten korrigierter Datierung), ferner Kresten, *Die Beziehungen*, 40–41, 45 und 72, Christof Kraus, „Patriarchale Konfliktvermeidungsstrategien. Einige Beispiele aus dem Patriarchatsregister von Konstantinopel,“ in *Junge Römer – Neue Griechen. Eine byzantinische Melange aus Wien*, hrsg. Mihailo Popović und Johannes Preiser-Kapeller (Wien, 2008), 89–107, hier 93–95, Mitsiou, „Leben,“ 213–214; Prinzing, „Verstöße,“ 84–85 und Prinzing, [Princing] „Нарушения норм,“ 86.

65 Vgl. Kresten, *Die Beziehungen*, 71–74; Todt, „Das ökumenische Patriarchat,“ 56–57; Kraus, „Konfliktführungsstrategien,“ 93–96; Mitsiou, „Leben,“ 214.

Leute dort auf, um die Drei „auf frischer Tat zu ertappen, ihnen ihre Habe zu entreißen und sie öffentlich anzuprangern und dem Schandgeleit preiszugeben“. Doch just in dem Moment kam (zufällig?) auch der hohe Patriarchats-Beamte, „der ehrwürdigste Dikaiophylax und Protekdikos unserer heiligsten Großen Kirche Gottes, [...], Herr Ioannes Phylax, auf seinem Weg dort vorbei.“ So wandten sich die empörten „Bewohner der Nachbarschaft“ (*hoi en geitonōn oikuntes*)[66] an ihn und zeigten „ihm die jene betreffende Angelegenheit“ an, mit der Bitte, „Vorsorge zu treffen und sie aus der Schande zu befreien“. Nur mühsam konnte Phylax die aufgebrachten Leute „aufhalten und sie zum Rückzug bewegen, indem er unternahm, was in seinen Kräften stand, und diesen auch Geld gab, wieviel dies eben war.“ Nachdem Phylax endlich in den „Sündenpfuhl“ gelangt war, wo er Ioannikios und Hesaias bei beiden Nonnen, der Thiniatissa und der ungenannten, erblickte, „befreite er diese von dort“, holte also die Männer dort heraus, „und „beschimpfte“ sie heftig, weil sie allen Ermahnungen der Kirche zum Trotz gehandelt, sich [...] schändlichsten Handlungen hingegeben“ und ihr „Gelöbnis gegenüber Gott“ missachtet hätten.

Obwohl es angesichts der Sachlage keines weiteren Beweises bedurfte, „um den Ioannikios gänzlich seines Amtes zu entheben,“ entschied der Patriarch zunächst, ihn zur Synode vorzuladen. Dort sollte er aussagen, um sich zu näher zu erklären und zu verteidigen. Man lud ihn mehrfach vor ..., doch leider endet die beschädigte Akte just hier.[67] So hat es fast den Anschein, als sei dem früh verwitweten Priester Ioannikios eine gewisse Protektion zuteilgeworden, und zwar selbst dann noch, nachdem es sich hinreichend deutlich abgezeichnet hatte, dass der Versuch, ihn zur Selbstdisziplinierung durch die ihm verordnete Einweisung ins Peribleptos-Kloster (unter aktiver Mitwirkung eines Klosterbruders) zu verhelfen, völlig gescheitert war. Außerdem bleibt es, vielleicht wegen der Unvollständigkeit des Schreibens, ungeklärt, wieso die Thiniatissa in der geschilderten Weise als Nonne (und Chefkupplerin für ihre „Nonnen“) unbehelligt agieren konnte.[68]

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[66] „Nachbarschaft“ ist an dieser Stelle wohl kaum administrativ zu verstehen, da hier auch nicht der Begriff *geitonia* verwendet wird. Zu Nachbarschaftsbezirken der Hauptstadt vgl. Paul Magdalino, „Neighbourhoods in Byzantine Constantinople,“ in *Hinter den Mauern und auf dem offenen Land. Leben im Byzantinischen Reich*, hrsg. Falko Daim und Jörg Drauschke, Byzanz zwischen Orient und Okzident 3 (Mainz, 2016), 23–30. Die Lage des Bordells der Thiniatissa ist unbekannt, vermutlich aber befand es sich nicht allzu weit weg vom Peribleptos-Kloster (vgl. auch die nächste Anm.).

[67] *PRK* III, Nr. 205, 176/177–182/183/, hier 178/179 –180/181 (mit den Zitaten), vgl. Darrouzès, *Les regestes*, V, Nr. 2339; ferner Beck, *Erotikon*, 188, Christof Kraus, *Kleriker im späten Byzanz. Anagnosten, Hypodiakone, Diakone und Priester 1261–1453*, Mainzer Veröffentlichungen zur Byzantinistik 9 (Wiesbaden, 2007), 290–291, 317 (Anm. 340) und 362, Mitsiou, „Leben,“ 214, und Ekaterini Mitsiou, „The Late Byzantine Female Monasticism from the Point of View of the Register of the Patriarchate of Constantinople,“ in *The Register of the Patriarchate*, hrsg. Christian Gastgeber, Ekaterini Mitsiou und Johannes Preiser-Kapeller, ÖAW, Philosophisch Historische Klasse, Denkschriften 457, Veröffentlichungen zur Byzanzforschung 32 (Wien, 2013), 161–173, hier 170; zum Peribleptos-Kloster vgl. Alice-Mary Talbot, „Peribleptos Monastery,“ in *ODB* 3:1692 und Kidonopoulos, *Bauten*, 90–91.

Weitere konkrete Zeugnisse aus der kirchlichen Rechtsprechung, die sich nachweislich auf Prostitution beziehen, ließen sich im Rahmen dieses Beitrags nicht aufspüren. Dieser führte, kurz zusammengefasst, zu folgendem Resultat:

1. In der Zeit vom 13.-15. Jh. tritt die Prostitution in den (auf uns gekommenen) Quellen zur kirchlichen Gerichtsbarkeit nur selten hervor. Konkret greifbar wird sie jedenfalls nur in drei Fällen aus der 2. Hälfte des 14. Jahrhunderts, und zwar in den Akten des Patriarchatsregisters (*PRK* Nr. 205, 239 und 265). Zwei davon beziehen sich auf das Hodegon-Kloster (Nr. 239 und 265) und eine (*PRK* Nr. 205) auf das Pseudo-Kloster (und faktische Bordell) im Haus der sich als Nonne ausgebenden Prostituierten Thiniatissa. Diese Fälle beziehen sich somit ausschließlich auf ein kirchlich-klösterliches Milieu im Raum Konstantinopel, und zwar auch im Hinblick auf die in diese Fälle involvierten Personen.
2. Demgegenüber spielt die Prostitution in den Akten des Metropoliten Ioannes Apokaukos von Naupaktos und des Erzbischofs Demetrios Chomatenos von Achrida (Ohrid) wenn überhaupt, so auch nur in ganz wenigen (insgesamt sechs) Fällen eine Rolle, aber eben nur möglicherweise oder andeutungsweise. Bei Apokaukos finden sie sich in den *Synodika engrapha* Nr. 38 und 42 (nach Delemares), bei Chomatenos indes in den Akten Nr. 23, 123, 136 und 143 seiner *Ponemata diaphora*. In fünf von diesen Fällen geht es um Ehescheidungsfälle, nur in einem Fall (Chomatenos: 136) um die Trennung eines verheirateten Mannes von seiner zeitweiligen Konkubine. Da bei den behandelten Ehescheidungsfällen die mehrtätige (oder sogar noch längere) Abwesenheit der Frau vom Haus des Ehemannes einen oder sogar den wesentlichen Grund zur Trennung der Ehe abgibt, weil die Frau in der Zeit der Aushäusigkeit mutmaßlich oder möglicherweise Verhältnisse mit fremden Männern einging, könnte auch die Prostitution eine Rolle gespielt haben. Jedenfalls lässt sich aufgrund der Sachverhaltsschilderungen nicht a priori ausschließen, dass die Frau sich möglicherweise prostituiert hat. Im Fall der Akte 123 möchte der impotente Mann durch die Scheidung ausdrücklich verhindern, dass seine eines Fehltritts verdächtige Frau in die öffentliche Prostitution abgleitet. Anders lagen die Dinge bei dem Fall (Nr. 136): Er handelt von einem an sich verheirateten Mann, der seine Frau verlassen hatte, um anderenorts längere Zeit mit einer verführerischen Konkubine zusammenzuleben. Seine Ehefrau aber spürte ihn auf und zwang ihn, sich von der Konkubine zu trennen. Letztere stritt erfolgreich auf Herausgabe jener Güter, die sie gemeinschaftlich mit dem Mann erwirtschaftet hatte. Im Zusammenhang mit der vom Gericht vorgenommenen negativen Charakteristik der Konkubine als Flittchen war zu klären, ob die von

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[68] Mitsiou, „Female Monasticism,“ 170; Mitsiou, „Leben,“ 214 und Kraus, „Konfliktführungsstrategien,“ 100 und 106 äußern sich zu den Fragen nicht.

der Forschung (d. h. vom Verfasser) vorgenommene Bezeichnung der Konkubine als „Prostituierte“ gerechtfertigt war. Die Überprüfung ergab, dass mangels konkreter Anhaltspunkte diese Bezeichnung der Konkubine unbegründet war. Alle diese Fälle beziehen sich auf die Provinz.

3. Im Fall der speziellen Novelle von 1306, die Kaiser Andronikos II. auf Initiative des Patriarchen Athanasios I. erließ, wird vor allem vor der Praktizierung der Prostitution gewarnt und z. B. Bordellbetreibern mit Konfiskation gedroht, aber die Warnung wird nicht mit konkreten Angaben unterfüttert.

Aufgrund der geringen Anzahl der kirchengerichtlich notorischen Fälle von Prostitution und wegen der angedeuteten Schwierigkeiten, in einigen Fällen überhaupt zu klaren Aussagen zu gelangen, sollte man sinnvollerweise jeden Versuch unterlassen, hieraus weitergehende Aussagen zur Verbreitung der Prostitution und ihrer gesellschaftlichen Verortung abzuleiten.

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Cecily Hennessy

Mary Magdalene and the Prostitute Saints: East and West, Marginalized and Demarginalized

In Western tradition, Mary Magdalene is often interpreted as a harlot, whereas in the Eastern Church, strictly speaking, she is not.[1] In Byzantium, it is argued that she maintains a singular character, one of virtue, not associated with sins of the flesh or repentance.[2] This raises questions about the nature of subcultures, such as prostitution, in Byzantium, and why Mary Magdalene might have been shielded from her Western associations in Eastern culture. This essay compares the depiction of Mary Magdalene in the East with that of female Byzantine saints who are associated with prostitution. It also explores disparate Eastern and Western identities, leading to further questions about the cultural context of prostitution in Byzantium in particular, including approaches to marriage, concubinage, and slavery. Further discussion inquires into the way Mary Magdalene is marginalised in early Christian literature and iconography, as if side-lined by both the male apostles and the Mother of God, and asks about the possible reasons for this.

Mary Magdalene is described in the Gospels of Luke and Mark as one who came from Magdala and formerly had seven demons (δαιμόνια) (Luke 8:2–3; Mark 16:9), though the nature of these demons is never explained. The texts imply that they are to do with evil spirits and diseases (πνευμάτων πονηρῶν καὶ ἀσθενειῶν) (Luke 8:2). She was said to have been present at the Crucifixion, to have attended Jesus' tomb, and to have seen him resurrected and then spread shared that news with his male disciples (Matthew 27:56, 28:1; Mark 15:40–41, 47; John 19:25, 20.1).[3] She had a significant role as a companion, as a witness, and as an apostle to the apostles. These roles are indicated in numerous manuscript illuminations. For instance, in an eleventh-century manuscript, Florence, Laurenziana, Plut. 6.23, she appears in several scenes

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[1] Key works on Mary Magdalene include Victor Saxer, *Le culte de Marie Madeleine en Occident des origines à la fin du moyen âge* (Paris, 1959); Susan Haskins, *Mary Magdalen: Myth and Metaphor* (London, 1993); Katherine Ludwig Jansen, *The Making of the Magdalen: Preaching and Popular Devotion in the Later Middle Ages* (Princeton, 2000); on the early development of her identity in the West, see Victor Saxer, "Les origines du culte de Sainte Marie Madeleine en Occident," in *Marie Madeleine dans la mystique, les arts et les lettres*, Actes du Colloque International, Avignon, 20–22 juillet 1988 (Paris, 1989), 33–47.

[2] See Victor Saxer, "Les saintes Marie Madeleine et Marie de Béthanie dans la tradition liturgique et homilétique orientale," *Revue des Sciences Religieuses* 32 (1958): 1–37; Vassiliki Foskolou, "Mary Magdalene between East and West: Cult and Image, Relics and Politics in the Late Thirteenth-Century Eastern Mediterranean," *DOP* 65/66 (2011–2012): 271–296, esp. 271.

[3] Haskins, *Mary Magdalen*, 5–10; Jansen, *Making*, 21–23.

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from Matthew, including at the tomb (Matthew 28:1), in the *Chairete* scene in the garden, and then reporting to the disciples (Matthew 28:8–10), as well as in detailed scenes from John with the apostles at the tomb (John 20:1–9) (Figs. 1–3).[4]

In the West, at least from the time of Gregory I (d. 604), the identity of Mary Magdalene was assimilated with that of the sinful woman (ἁμαρτωλός) (Luke 7:37–38) who wiped Christ's feet with her hair at the Pharisee's house, as well as the woman who poured oil on Christ's head (Mark 14:3; Matthew 26:6). Gregory, in his 25th homily, identifies Mary Magdalene with the woman of Luke 7 and describes her as a sinner (*peccatrix*).[5] In his 33rd homily on this same text, he describes her oil as having been used for disgraceful acts.[6] There is nothing in the text to associate Luke's sinner with harlotry; this is an interpretation made by Gregory and picked up by other male theologians.

The Venerable Bede, Abbot of Jarrow (d. 735), in his commentary on Luke 7, assimilates Mary Magdelene with Mary of Bethany.[7] Mary of Bethany, sister to Martha and Lazarus, anointed and wiped Christ's feet with her hair. She is associated with faith and contemplation (Luke 10:39; John 12:3). The Magdalene is thus, in the West, three Marys in one: Christ's follower, a repentant sinner (seen as a harlot), and Mary of Bethany.[8] This compilation helped to correlate the various disparate Gospel accounts.

In contrast, among the early theologians in the East, John Chrysostom stands out as one who recognised the significance of her role. In his 88th homily on Matthew, he writes of the two Marys sitting at the sepulchre and declares, "Do you see women's courage? Do you see their affection? Do you see their noble spirit in money? Their noble spirit even unto death?"[9] The patriarch Photios (810–891), commenting on a now lost homily on the *myrrophoroi* by Modestos, Patriarch of Jerusalem (d. 634), extolled her virtues. Emphasising her purity, he stated that she was the first of the female disciples and died a virgin and a martyr in Ephesus, where she went with Saint John after the death of the Mother of God, to whom she had been a companion.[10]

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[4] Florence, Laurenziana, Pluteus 6.23, including fols. 59r, 59v, 60v, 96r, 97r, 209v; see Tania Velmans, *Le Tétraévangile de la Laurentienne, Florence Laur. VI 23* (Paris, 1971), 33–34, 39, 51, figs. 121–124, 178–179, 299.

[5] Gregory the Great, in *PL* 76, 189; Gregory the Great, *Forty Gospel Homilies*, Cistercian Studies Series, trans. David Hurst (Kalamazoo, 1990), 187.

[6] Gregory the Great, Hom. 33, in *PL* 76, 1239–1240: *illicitis actibus prius mulier intent unguentum sibi pro odore suae carnis adhibuit*; Gregory the Great, *Forty Gospel Homilies*, 269–270; Andrew Jotischky, "Gerard of Nazareth, Mary Magdalene and Latin Relations with the Greek Orthodox in the Crusader East in the Twelfth Century," *Levant* 29 (1997): 217–226, at 219; Haskins, *Mary Magdalen*, 95–96.

[7] Bede Exp. Luc. 28, in *PL* 92, 423–424, "Expositio in Evangelium S. Lucae," chapter 28; on this, Haskins, *Mary Magdalen*, 109; Jotischky, "Gerard of Nazareth," 219.

[8] In 1969, her identity with Mary of Bethany and Luke's sinner was denounced by the Roman Catholic Church under Pope Paul VI.

[9] John Chrysostom, *Homilies on the Gospel of Saint Matthew*, trans. George Prevost (Oxford, 1851), vol. 3, 1095–1096.

[10] Photios, *Bibliothèque*, trans. Réne Henry, vol. 8 (Paris, 1977), 118–119.

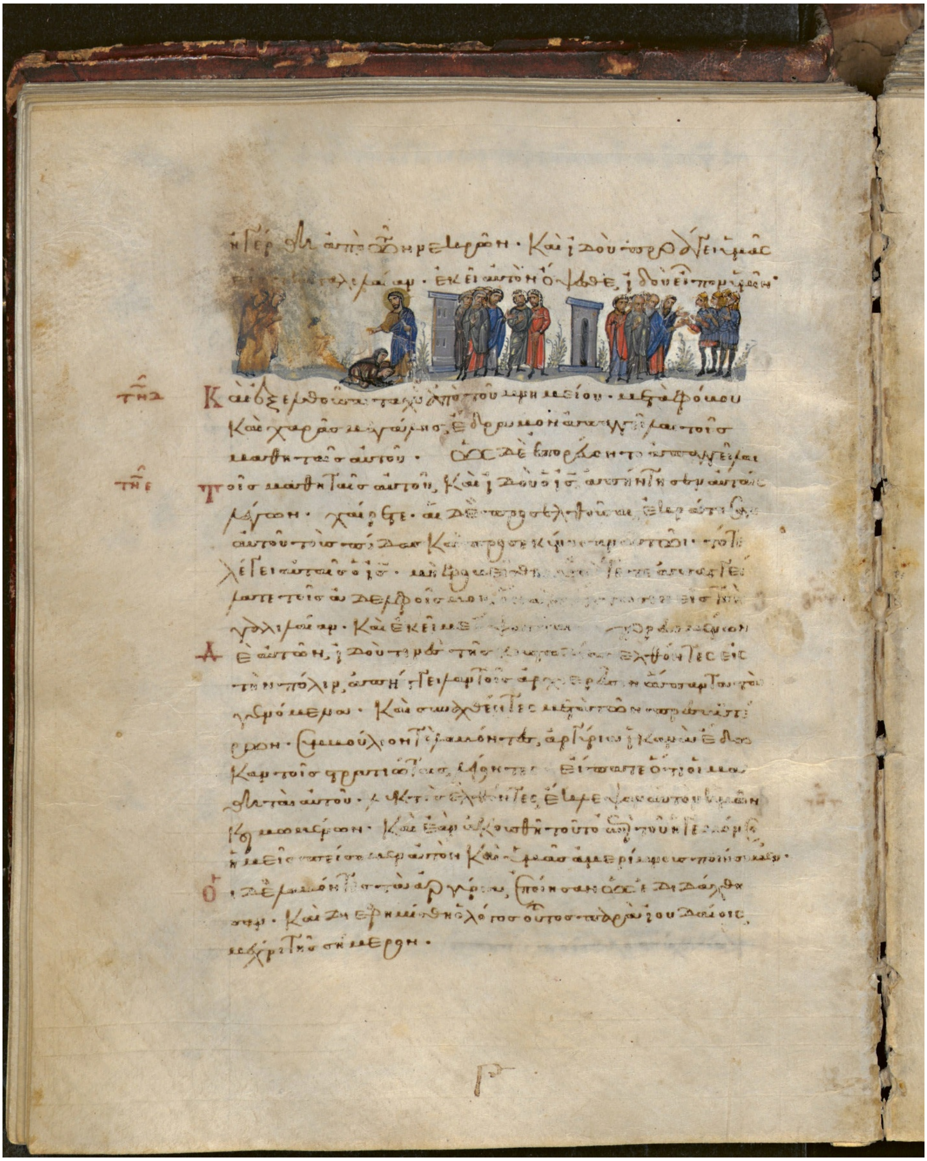

Fig. 1: Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Ms. Plut. 6.23, fol. 60v, Chairete and reporting to the disciples (Matthew 28.8–10). By permission of MiBACT. Any further reproduction by any means is prohibited.

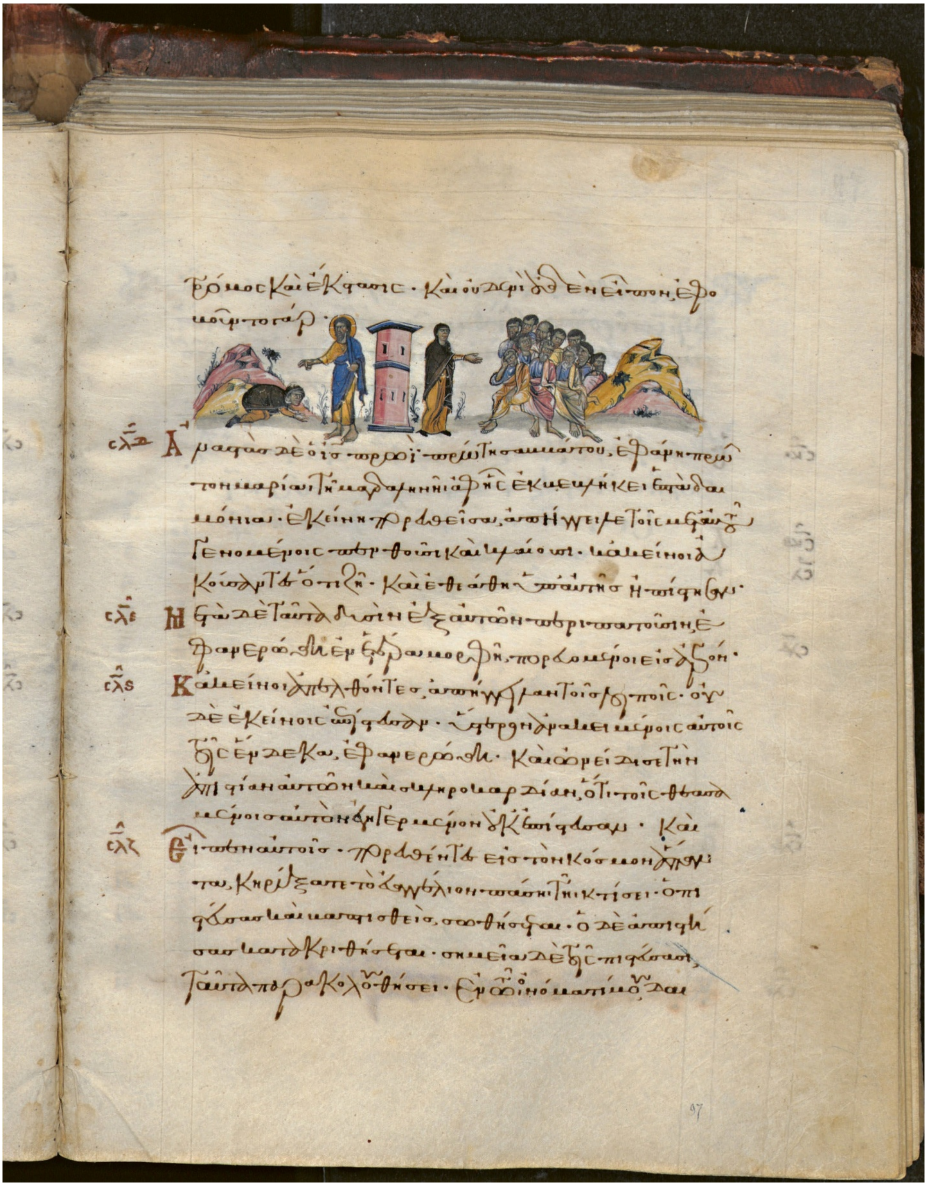

Fig. 2: Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Ms. Plut. 6.23, fol. 97r, Chairete and reporting to the disciples (Mark 16.9—10). By permission of MiBACT. Any further reproduction by any means is prohibited.

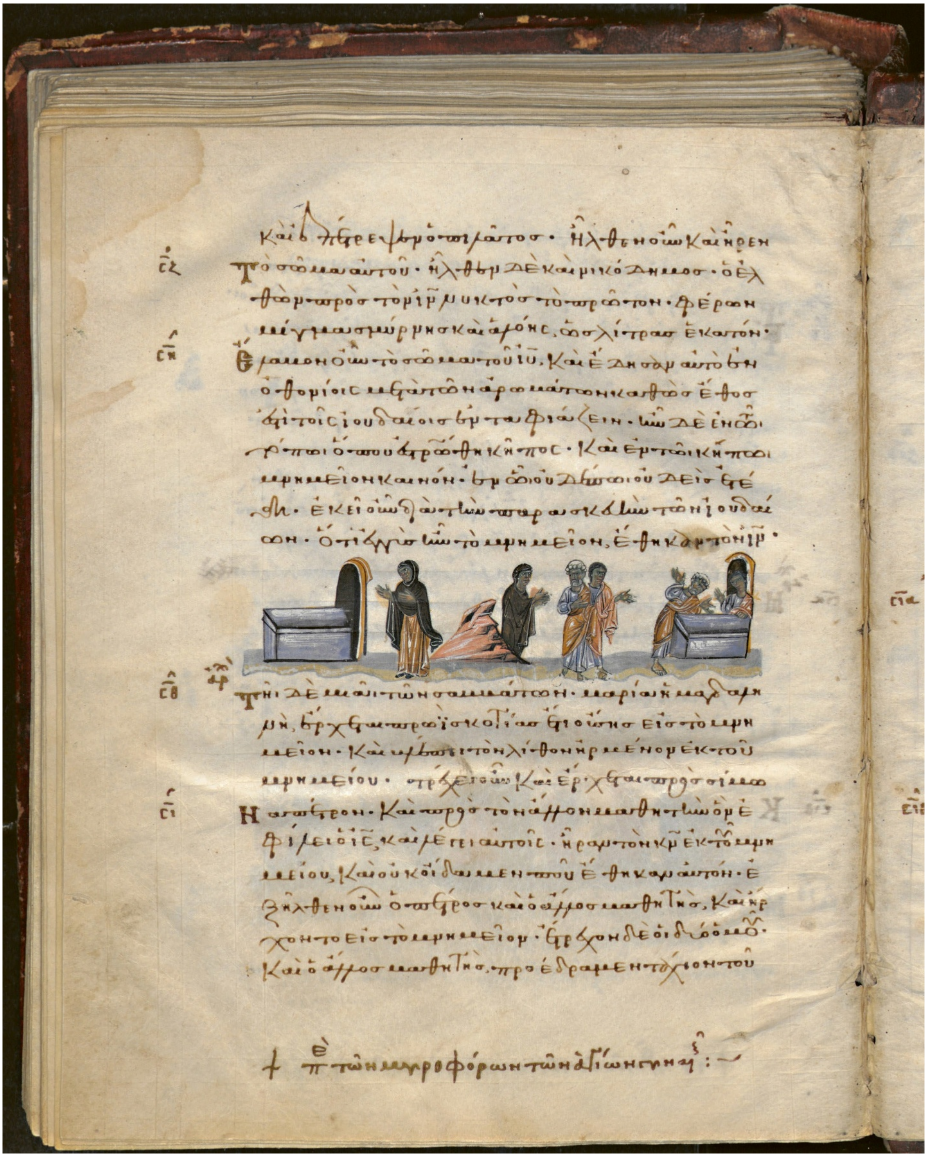

Fig. 3: Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Ms. Plut. 6.23, fol. 209v, Mary Magdalene at the tomb and with the apostles at the tomb (John 20: 1–9). By permission of MiBACT. Any further reproduction by any means is prohibited.

Such texts could be designed to contend with the Western version of her life and, particularly later, after the separation of the Churches, to undermine Western doctrine. This is evidenced in writings from the 12th century in Bethany, the centre of the cult site of Mary of Bethany (and by extension of Mary Magdalene for the Western Church), where there was a close rivalry between the Greek and Latin Churches.[11]

One text that has raised some discussion on the perceived identity of Mary Magdalene is the 9th-century Hymn of Kassia, which is sung on the morning of Wednesday in Holy week.[12] It is in the voice of the Blessed Sinner from Luke 7, who is also given the role of a myrrh-bearer to Christ's tomb. She does not describe herself as a prostitute but as one who "fell into many sins" and for whom darkness moves to "lust after sin."[13] While there is no direct reference to Mary Magdalene in it, the hymn is often associated with her.[14] A. Dyck compares the text with Romanos's tenth *kontakion* and refers also to Ephrem the Syrian's homily on the sinful woman. These, again, are referring to Luke's Sinner and not to Mary Magdalene.[15]

By tradition, Mary Magdalene's relics resided at Ephesus before being taken to Constantinople in about the year 900 by Leo VI to be enshrined in a splendid new monastic church which he had built.[16] It was located in the new area of the Great Palace on the eastern city wall overlooking the sea and was apparently intended for use by eunuchs.[17] The church seems to have survived until the end of Byzantine rule. It was dedicated to Lazarus of Bethany, whose relics Leo brought at the same time from Cyprus.[18] This pairing of relics leads to some confusion. For instance, in the late 11th century, Ioannes Skylitzes states that the relics are those of Lazaros' sister, that is of Mary of Bethany.[19] Several Western pilgrims also confuse the two Marys.[20]

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[11] On the writings of Gerard of Nazareth, who saw the orthodox tradition of Mary Magdalene as a threat to the episcopacy, see Jotischky, "Gerard of Nazareth."

[12] Andrew R. Dyck, "On Cassia, Κύριε ἡ ἐν πολλαῖς . . ., " *Byz* 56 (1986): 63–76, at 63–64 for text and translation.

[13] Dyck, "On Cassia," 63, line 1 and 7.

[14] Dyck argues that Kassia identifies the sinner with Mary Magdalene: Dyck, "On Cassia," 66, with n. 9; in contrast, Tsironi states there is no evidence for this; see Niki Tsironi, "The Body and the Senses in the Work of Cassia the Hymnographer: Literary Trends in the Iconoclastic Period," *Symmeikta* 16 (2003): 139–157, at 142–143; also see Elisabeth C. Topping, "The Psalmist, St. Luke and Kassia the Nun," *Byzantine Studies* 9 (1982): 199–219; Foskolou, "Mary Magdalene," 283, with n. 74–75.

[15] Romanos, *Sancti Romani Melodi Cantica, Cantica Genuina*, eds. Paul Mass and Constantine Athanasios Trypanis (Oxford, 1963), 73–80; for translation, see: St. Romanos the Melodist, *Kontakia on the Life of Christ*, trans. and intro. Ephrem Lash (San Francisco, CA, 1995), 75–84; Ephrem the Syrian, "Three Homilies," in *A Select Library of the Nicene and post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church*, eds. Philip Schaff and Henry Wace, 2nd series, vol. 13, part 2 (Oxford, 1898), 336–341; also Marjorie Carpenter, trans. and annotated, *Kontakia of Romanos, Byzantine Melodist*, I: *On the Person of Christ* (Columbia, MO, 1970), 97–107; Dyck, "On Cassia," 64–65.

[16] Saxer, "Les saintes Marie," 29; Raymond Janin, *La géographie ecclésiastique de l'Empire byzantin: Première partie, Le siège de Constantinople et le patriarcat œcuménique, tome III, Les églises et les monastères* (Paris, 1969), 298–300.

[17] John Wortley, "Relics of 'The Friends of Jesus' at Constantinople," in *Byzance et les reliques du Christ*, eds. Jannic Durand and Bernard Flusin (Paris, 2004), 143–57, at 155; repr. in John Wortley, *Studies in the Cult of Relics in Byzantium up to 1204*, Variorum Collected Studies, Series 935 (Aldershot, 2009), with references; also Shaun Tougher, *The Eunuch in Byzantine History and Society* (London, 2008), 73, 76; Shaun Tougher, *The reign of Leo VI (886–912): Politics and People*, Medieval

In the West, after the 11th century, Mary Magdalene's cult flourished in large part due to her role as a penitent harlot, a fallen and redeemed figure with whom believers could identify. The rising beatification of Mary Magdalene made her by far the most revered female saint in the 12th century and the most famous harlot in the West.[21] Her cult centre was at Vézelay, where her relics were claimed to have been found in 1058, later being moved to St. Maximim, where others were "miraculously" found in 1279.[22] From the 1280s, she was taken up by mendicants as a model of repentance and by abbesses and nuns as exemplary of the contemplative life.[23] However, she was also seen as a sinner, an example of lust and repeated vice, and a general example of women associated with sexual rapacity.[24] While *metanoia* and penance are part of the orthodox tradition, in the Catholic Church, particularly after the growth of the mendicant orders, penance becomes increasingly central, and Mary Magdalene serves as an ideal example of reform.[25]

Byzantium remained largely untouched by this Western development. This is not because Byzantine culture has steered away from the subject of reformed prostitutes. Of these, there are some celebrated examples, including the most well-known, Mary of Egypt. She, by her own confession, was not strictly speaking a prostitute, as she did not take money for her favours, but rather gave them for her own pleasure, "thus

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Mediterranean, vol. 15 (Leiden, 1997), 201–202; Tougher refers to Mary as Lazarus' sister, see *Politics and People*, 201.

[18] Janin, *Les églises et les monastères*, 299.

[19] John Wortley, ed. and trans., *John Skylitzes: A Synopsis of Byzantine History 811–1057* (Cambridge, 2010), 175: "He built another church in the Topoi-quarter dedicated to Saint Lazarus. Here he brought and deposited the body of the saint and also that of his sister, Mary Magdalene"; Ioannis Scylitzae, *Synopsis historiarum,* ed. Hans Thurn, CFHB 5 (Berlin, 1973), 180–181.

[20] George P. Majeska, *Russian Travelers to Constantinople in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries*, Dumbarton Oaks Studies 19 (Washington, D.C., 1984), 94, 164, 182, 379–381.

[21] On her western identity as a prostitute, see Jansen, *Making*, 168–177.

[22] The literature on this is vast; for prior to 1990, see Victor Saxer, "Bibliographie de Sainte Marie Madeleine 1945–1990," in *L'image de la Madeleine du XVe au XIXe siècle*, ed. Yves Giraud (Fribourg, 1996), 23–36; for summaries, see Haskins, *Mary Magdalen*, 98–100, 104–105, 111–133; Jansen, *Making*, 38–43.

[23] On this see, for instance, Jansen, *Making*, 116–142.

[24] Jansen, *Making,* 170; Haskins, *Magdalen*, 148–150.

[25] On the sacrament of penance and penitential controversy, see for instance J. Dallen, F. X. Murphy, *New Catholic Encyclopedia*, vol. 11, 2nd ed. (Washington, D.C., 2003), 66–73; on penitence in Byzantium, see Miguel Arranz, S.J., *I Penitenziali Bizantini, Il Protokanonarion o Kanonarion Primitivo di Giovanni Monaco e Diacono e il Deuterokanonarion o "Secondo Kanonarion" di Basilio Monaco* (Rome, 1993); thank you to Derek Krueger for this reference.

turning my lust into a free gift."[26] Pelagia, through her profession as a mime actress, was associated with prostitution.[27] Her physical appearance was noted and deprecated by the bishop Nonnus, who questioned why men of the church could not embellish their souls in the way she embellished her body. After he had baptized her, she fled to the Mount of Olives, dressed in his *chiton*, and lived disguised as a male hermit. Yet, there are some keen distinctions between these two and Mary Magdalene. They both, according to their hagiographies, retreated to the wilderness after their reformation to become ascetics.[28] Similarly, after her repentance, the prostitute Porphyria retreated into a nunnery. Her story is told in the 6th-century *vita* of Saint John the Almsgiver. The author, Leontios of Neapolis, describes a monk in Tyre who was accosted by a prostitute who cried out, "Save me, Father, like Christ saved the harlot," this referring to Luke 7:37. The two retreated to live in chastity and on his death, she joined a nunnery.[29] Again, she was not part of mainstream society. Other prostitute saints include Pansemne and Taisia, who are not well-known.[30]

The development of the cult of Mary Magdalene in the West became in some ways dependent on the *vita* of Mary of Egypt. As Mary of Egypt spent thirty years in the desert, the Western Magdalene was similarly said to have spent thirty years in the wilderness, after a period of apostleship in France.[31] This is very different from the Byzantine life of Mary Magdalene, who in the Gospel narrative is present with the other women in Galilee serving Christ and, in some apocryphal accounts, stays a companion of the Virgin until her dormition.[32] Her only Eastern *vita* is from the 14th century. It was written by the historian Nikephoros Kallistos Xanthopoulos under the title *Ermo in Sanctam et Apostolis aequalem unguentiferam Mariam Magdalenam.*[33]

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[26] *PL* 87, 3709–3710; *Holy Women of Byzantium: Ten Saints' Lives in English Translation*, ed. Alice-Mary Talbot (Washington, D.C., 1996), 80.

[27] For Mary Magdalene, *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Graeca*, 162, no. 1162; for Mary of Egypt, 146, nos. 1042–1044 (her life was written down in the 6th century by Sophronios, the last Patriarch of Jerusalem before the Arab Conquest); for Pelagia, see 206, nos. 1478–1479.

[28] For a discussion of their lives, see Lynda L. Coon, *Sacred Fictions: Holy Women and Hagiography in Late Antiquity* (Philadelphia, PA, 1997), 77–84 (Pelagia), 84–94 (Mary of Egypt).

[29] *Three Byzantine Saints: Contemporary Biographies of St. Daniel the Stylite, St. Theodore of Sykeon and St. John the Almsgiver*, trans. Elizabeth Dawes, intro. and notes Norman H. Baynes (London, 1948), 252–253.

[30] On the prostitute saints, see Despoina Ariantzi, "Byzantinische Prostituierte. Zwischen Marginalisierung und Reintegration in die Gesellschaft," *Byz* 91 (2021): 1–45, esp. 10–11; Stavroula Leontsini, *Die Prostitution im frühen Byzanz*, Dissertationen der Universität Wien 194 (Vienna, 1989), 46 (Taisia), 50–52 (Pelagia, Pansemne, Porphyria); thank you to Despoina Ariantzi for this reference; see also Nickie Roberts, *Whores in History: Prostitution in Western Society* (London, 1992), 62.

[31] See Haskins, *Magdalene*, 119–122.

[32] For instance, "The Twentieth Discourse of Cyril of Jerusalem," in J. Keith Elliott, *The Apocryphal New Testament* (Oxford, 1993), 698, in which Mary is entrusted by the Mother of God with the care of the remaining apostles.

While Mary Magdalene is not widely represented in Byzantine art, neither are the byzantine "prostitute" saints. In Rome, the Temple of Portunus (sometimes known as the Temple of Fortuna Virilis) was dedicated to her. The decoration, dated between 872 and 882, under Pope John VIII, reflects Byzantine work and includes a now fragmentary scene of Zosimus, the priest who found her in the wilderness, and Mary (Fig. 4).[34] The white-haired and bearded priest stands on the left, his hands raised, perhaps in surprise or respect. Between him and Mary is what seems to be a hut or a cave. Mary stands on the right, also with white hair. Her body is not shown, but the upper part of her torso seems naked. Other examples include a possibly 11th-century depiction on the south wall of the atrium at Santa Maria Antiqua, Rome, showing both figures in bust portraits facing frontally with Zosimus holding the bread of the eucharist.[35]

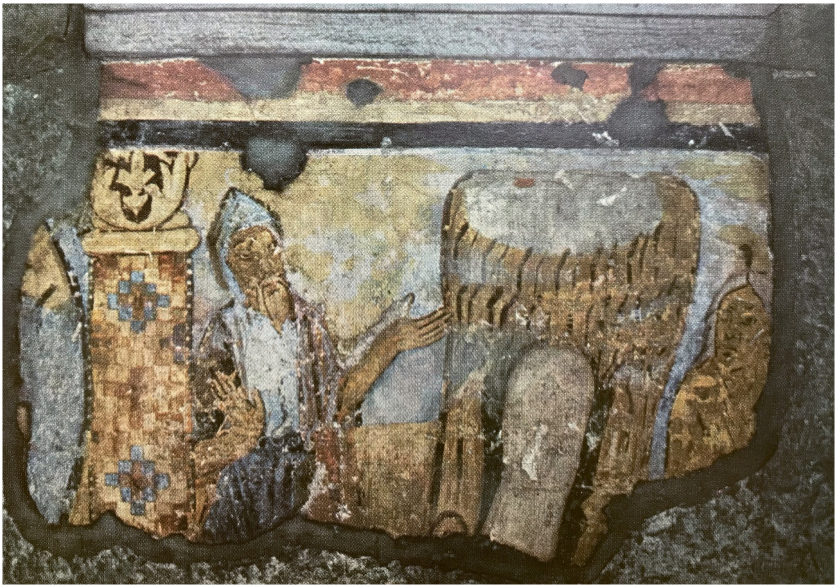

Fig. 4: Rome, Temple of Portunus, Mary of Egypt and Zozimus. With permission of the Academia Belgica.

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[33] *PG* 147, 539–576.

[34] Richard Krautheimer, *Rome, Profile of a City 312–1308* (Princeton, 1980), 128; Jacqueline Lafontaine-Dosogne, *Peintures médiévales dans le Temple de la Fortune Virile* (Brussels, 1959), 43, scene 18, pl. XIV; see 44, fn. 1, with further instances of Mary of Egypt.

[35] Joseph Wilpert, *Die römischen Mosaiken und Malereien der kirchlichen Bauten vom IV. bis XIII. Jahrhundert*, vol. 4.2 (Freiburg, 1916), pl. 227.2.

Mary of Egypt also appears in the *Theodore Psalter*, dated to 1066 (Fig. 5).[36] She is naked, and Zosimus stands with his eyes averted as he gives her a garment from the other side of a hill. The scene illustrates Psalm 54:8–9: "Lo, I have fled afar off, and lodged in the wilderness," which is quoted in the Life of Mary of Egypt.[37] The scene does not appear in the other marginal psalters with which this manuscript is associated.

Although not widely represented in Cappadocia, Mary of Egypt appears in the early 11th century Tokalı kilise, appropriately in the north apse (*prothesis*), where the eucharist is prepared. Zosimus, on the left, offers her the eucharist on a spoon.[38] To the left is a scene showing the weighing of a soul, with the judgment considered by an angel and a devil. To the right, in the central image of the apse is another eucharistic panel, the Hospitality of Abraham.[39] The large number of hermit saints in the region would make her inclusion in a panel of these theme logical. She also appears in a narthex near Kılıçlar kilise.[40] However, in the other churches in Cappadocia covered in Marcell Restle's comprehensive survey, no portrayals of Mary Magdalene, Mary of Egypt, Pelagia, or Porphyria survive.[41] Similarly, in the 11th-century *katholikon* of Hosios Loukas of Steiris, which features representations of over 150 saints, thirteen of whom are female, neither Mary Magdalene nor any of the former harlots are present.[42]

Moving into the 12th century, Mary of Egypt is depicted in a well-known scene in the Church of Panagia Phorbiotissa of Asinou, Cyprus, dated to 1105–1106. The painting is on the east wall adjacent to the north side of the apse with Zosimus in the mirror position on the south side of the apse.[43] The choice of iconography is thus due to the presence of the eucharist, which she is receiving. She is very skinny, her backbone protruding, and the visible parts of her body, her legs and the right side of her torso

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[36] London, British Library Ms. Add. 19352, fol. 68r; In Lafontaine, *Temple de la Fortune*, 44, n. 1.

[37] *PG* 87, 3716; In *Theodore Psalter*, ed. Charles Barber, Electronic Facsimile (Champaign, IL, 2000), p. 4 of folio, 68r text.

[38] Göreme chapel 7; Ann Wharton Epstein, *Tenth-century Metropolitan Art in Byzantine Cappadocia*, Dumbarton Oaks Studies 22 (Washington, D.C., 1986), 25, 68, 83, fig. 104; Marcell Restle, *Die byzantinische Wandmalerei in Kleinasien*, 3 vols. (Recklinghausen, 1967), here vol. 2, plan opposite p. 61.

[39] Wharton, *Tenth-century*, fig. 105.

[40] Guillaume de Jerphanion, *Les Églises Rupestres de Cappadoce* (Paris, 1936), vol. 1.1, 256 and plates, vol. 1, pl. 59.4, on Zozimus and Mary, receiving communion on a spoon, in a narthex above "Qeledjlar Kilissé" (north vault); in Lafontaine, *Temple de la Fortune*, 43.

[41] Restle, *Wandmalerei*, vol. 1, list of apostles and saints at end of volume; see also Carolyn N. Connor, *Saints and Spectacle: Byzantine Mosaics in their Cultural Setting* (Oxford, 2016), appendix II, Comprehensive List of Saints in Cappadocian Frescoes, 155–159 (includes Kılıçlar, Ayvalı, Tokalı, Çavușin, El Nazar).

[42] Connor, *Saints and Spectacle*, 149–153.

[43] *Asinou across Time: Studies in the Architecture and Murals of the Panagia Phorbiotissa, Cyprus*, eds. Annmarie Weyl Carr and Andréas Nicolaïdès (Washington, D.C., 2012), fig. 2.32, and see fig. 6.5 for location; Andreas Stylianou and Judith A. Stylianou, *Panagia Phorbiotissa Asinou* (Nicosia, 1973), 59–60, fig. 8.

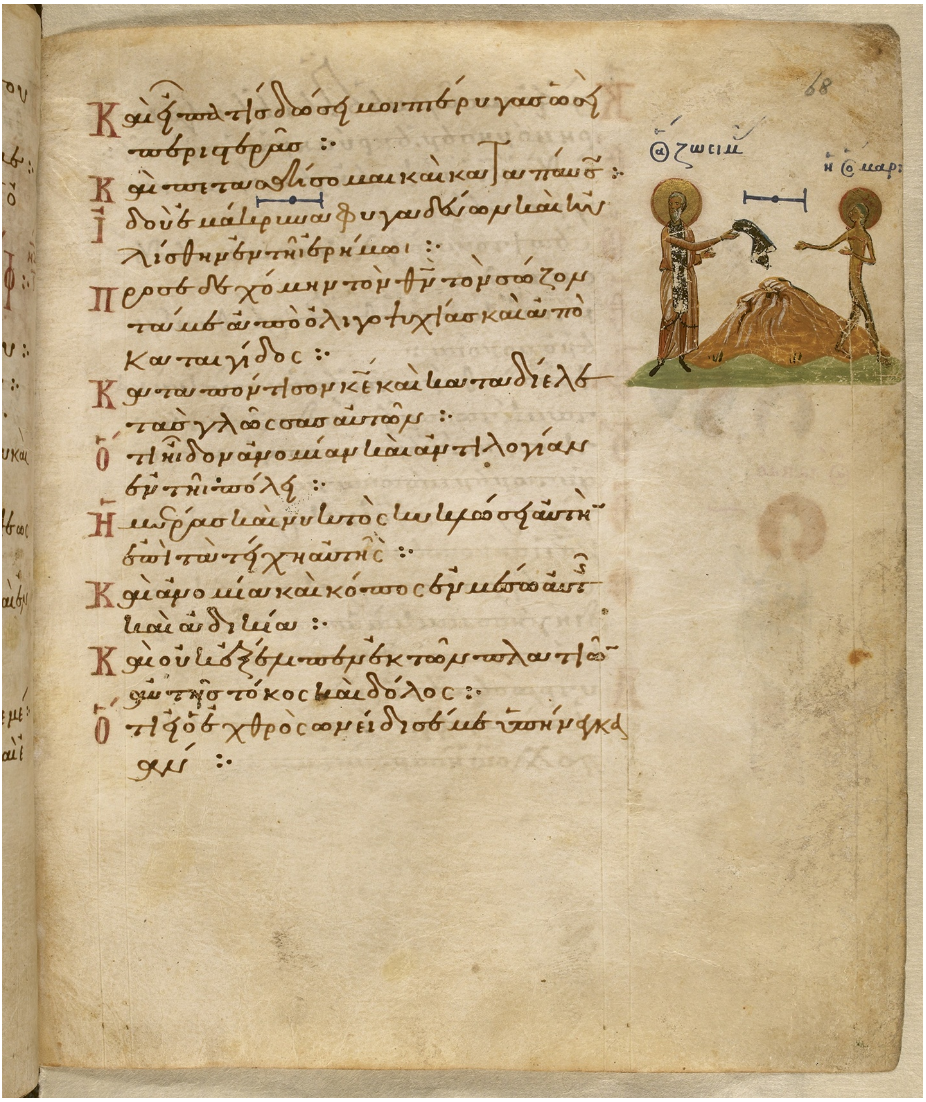

Fig. 5: London, British Library Ms. Add. 19352, *The Theodore Psalter*, fol. 68r, Mary of Egypt and Zozimus. © British Library Board.

and neck, are covered in hair, perhaps a feature of her starvation. Her garment is carelessly draped over her left shoulder and around her body and, although it is dark, it has a still-white border and a few decorative dots. Her hair is completely whitened, tousled, and looks as though it has been torn as she has a fringe and short wayward locks above the longer ones, while her face is deeply lined, her forehead furrowed, and she has heavy white eyebrows. She is a woman who has suffered.

Pelagia is shown in a miniature in the 11th-century so-called *Menologion of Basil II* (Fig. 6).[44] Neither Mary Magdalene nor Mary of Egypt are featured in the *Menologion*. Their feast days (22 July and 1 April) are outside the period covered. This volume, a *synaxarion*, dated to Basil's reign (976–1025), contains short biographies of the saints whose feast days occur between September and February, with 430 illuminations.[45] Pelagia is celebrated on October 8, along with her namesakes, Pelagia the Virgin (also from Antioch) and Pelagia of Tarsus, martyred under Diocletian. The artists signed their work, indicating that Pelagia of Antioch was painted by Pantoleon and the two other Pelagias by Michael of Blachernae.[46] Pelagia of Antioch is depicted twice, as an entertainer and, after her baptism, as a nun. In the first portrayal, she is dressed in a sumptuous brown robe with a broad gold border at the hem and a blue cape decorated with gold medallions and gold edging, fastened in the front with two gold clasps. Her hair appears to be covered—though it may just be heavily laced with headbands—and the headdress is studded with pearls; she wears a pearl necklace at her throat. There is no sign of impropriety in her appearance, but only of luxury. She stands before Nonnus, the bishop, who is speaking to her. As a nun, she has her head completed covered in a black *maphorion*, worn over a brown gown. Her shoes, formerly red, are now black. She is standing in front of a church.

Pelagia as a nun also appears in a late Byzantine painted diptych originally owned by Maria Angelina Doukaina Palaiologina and her husband, Thomas Preljubović, the despot of Ioannina (r. 1366/7–1384) (Fig. 7).[47] The Mother of God with the Christ Child and Christ appear as centre pieces of each panel, surrounded by fourteen saints. Each saint has a framed space for a relic. Pelagia, placed at the bottom left of the left panel, is dressed in a dark cape with a cross hanging from her neck and a heavy, lighter brown headdress. Two other female saints are shown: Barbara, just above Pelagia, dressed in a sumptuous red robe, and Anna, on the top row above the Mother of God, also dressed in red. The icon is studded with 939 (15 lost) pearls and 67 (245 lost) gemstones.[48] It is surmised that the diptych was copied from a painted icon in the Monastery of the Transfiguration in Meteora, which has the same iconography, including slots for relics, but only the left panel with the Mother of God survives, with Pelagia again shown in the bottom left corner.[49] This was given by the same Maria to

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[44] Vatican, cod. gr. 1613, fol. 98; https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Vat.gr.1613 (last accessed 12 May 2025).

[45] Facsimile: *Il Menologio di Basilio II (Cod. Vaticano Greco 1613)*, I, Testo; II, Tavole (Vatican, 1907); Ihor Ševčenko, "The Illuminators of the Menologium of Basil II," *DOP* 16 (1962): 243, 245–276, at 245.

[46] *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Graeca*, 206, nos. 1477 (named the Virgin), 1480 (of Tarsus); *Il Menologio di Basilio II*, vol. 1, 27, no. 96, named here, Pelagia of Tarsus; no. 97, Pelagia of Antioch (named the virgin); no. 98, Pelagia the penitent (named Pelagia of Antioch), in vol. 2, 96–98.

[47] *Byzantium: Faith and Power (1261–1557)*, ed. Helen C. Evans (New York, 2004), no. 24c, 52–53, entry by Annemarie Weyl-Carr and Anastasio Martinez Sáez, *El Diptico Bizantino de la Catedral de Cuenca* (Cuenca, 2004) (no page nos.).

[48] *Faith and Power*, ed. Evans, 52.

[49] *Faith and Power*, ed. Evans, no. 24b, 51–52.

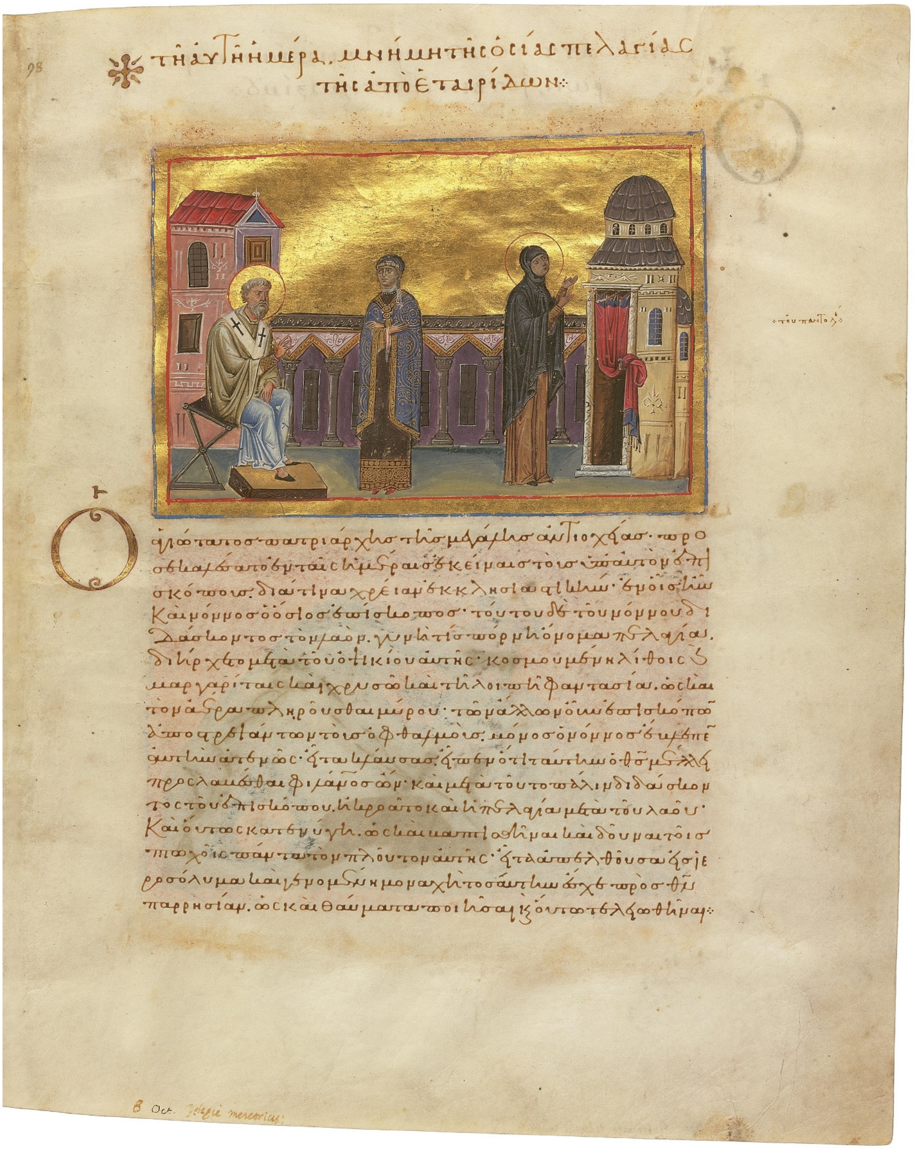

Fig. 6: Vatican, cod. Gr. 1613, fol. 98, Saint Pelagia with Bishop Nonnus and as a nun. © Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana.

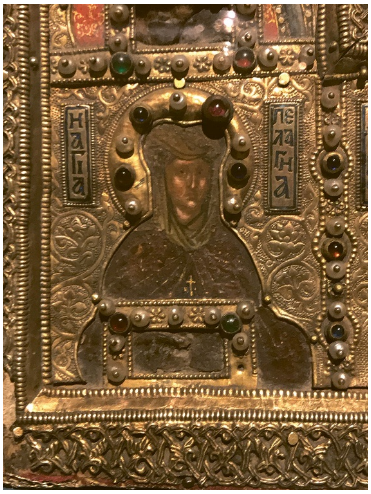

Fig. 7: Diocesan Museum, Cuenca, Diptych, detail showing Saint Pelagia (photo, Cecily Hennessy).

her brother Ioasaph, who was abbot of the monastery. It has been suggested that the jewelled icon was made in Meteora or Constantinople (perhaps more likely), the painted one in Meteora or Ioannina.[50] The rationale for the choice of the saints is not evident and may have been dependent on available relics.

This survey of the Byzantine prostitute saints indicates that although they are represented in Byzantine art, such representation is not extensive. Their cults are relatively minor and do not compare with those of Saints Anne, Barbara, Thekla, or Catherine. Of the harlot saints, none is known to have had a church dedicated to her in Constantinople.[51]

Discussions of how the iconography of Mary Magdalene developed in Byzantium after the 11th century, the period when she was clearly defined as a reformed harlot in the West, and the influence of Western art carries with it several assumptions. It is commonly held that she was singled out from the other *myrrophoroi* in Byzantine works due to Western influence, especially in Crucifixion and Lamentation scenes, where she is shown in emphatic grief.[52] It has been suggested that this, particularly in the late 13th century, is due to the spread of mendicant orders.[53] An example of this type of depiction is a 13th-century icon from St. Catherine's monastery, Mount Sinai, showing the Crucifixion with the Mother of God on the left, supported by two women, and a fourth woman behind, wearing a red *maphorion* over a low-necked dress, her hair loose and arms raised at the sides of her halo (Fig. 8).[54] The figure in red is interpreted as Mary Magdalene.[55] She appears as if appended to the composition and, as with many of these so-called "Crusader icons," could have been painted by an Eastern or Western artist, or by a collaboration of the two, in the Levant, in Cilicia, or possibly even in Sinai.[56] Contrary to common belief, red is not a colour associated in either East or West with prostitution.[57] In the Medieval Period in the West it was often associated with *caritas*, but was often used in Byzantine painting for the dress of one or more of the Holy Women, including that of Mary Magdalene.[58] This dates from the early period when Mary Magdalene appears in red in the upper left image in the 6th-century *Sancta Sanctorum Reliquary Box* in the Vatican and in a rare depiction from the south aisle of the cathedral in Faras, Nubia, dated to the 10th or 11th century where she has a dark red robe and brighter red maphorion in the *Chairete* scene (Figs. 9–10).[59]

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[50] *Faith and Power*, ed. Evans, 51–52.

[51] Raymond Janin, "Les églises et monastères de Constantinople byzantine," *RÉB* 9 (1951): 143–153, at 153 for list of church dedications.

[52] For instance, Alexander Kazhdan, ed., *Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium* (New York, 1991), entry on "Mary Magdalene," vol. 2, 1310; Foskolou, "Mary Magdalene," 175.

[53] Foskolou, "Mary Magdalene," 279–280.

Although it is said that this emotional pose of Mary Magdalene is not found previously in Byzantine art, it may well derive from Byzantine traditions.[60] The depiction of a mourning woman expressing demonstrative grief is a custom found in Eastern art throughout the early and middle Byzantine periods. This is a tradition inherited from Antiquity, as indicated in the death of Dido in the early 5th century *Vatican Vergil* and in the deaths of Deborah and of Jacob in the 6th-century *Vienna Genesis*.[61] In

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[54] *Faith and Power*, ed. Evans, 367–368, cat. No. 224.

[55] Foskolou, "Mary Magdalene," 274; Anne Derbes and Amy Neff, "Italy, the Mendicant Orders, and the Byzantine Sphere," in Evans, ed., *Faith and Power*, 449–461, esp. 460–461.

[56] Much has been written on this, as summarised in *Faith and Power*, ed. Evans, 368; see also Anne Derbes, "Siena and the Levant in the Later Dugento," *Gesta* 28 (1989): 190–204, esp. n. 11–12; thank you to Anne Derbes for notes to her talk at the Courtauld Institute, 23 October 2019, "Revisiting Siena and the Levant."

[57] On the dress of prostitutes in the West, see for instance Ruth Mazo Karras, *Common Women: Prostitution and Sexuality in Medieval England* (Oxford, 1996), 20, 31, 33–34, 84; Roberts, *Whores*, 9, 42, 43, 79–80, 148; on the history of the colour red, see Michel Pastoureau, *Rouge: Histoire d'une couleur* (Paris, 2016); following tradition, he identifies Mary Magdalene's red cloak with prostitution but gives no evidence for this and only gives as a reference the Whore of Babylon figure from Revelation 16; see Pastoureau, *Rouge*, 81, 83, and 200, n. 40 with no specific references. Jacques Rossiaud mentions red arm bands worn by prostitutes in 13th-century France; see Jacques Rossiaud, *Medieval Prostitution*, trans. Lydia G. Cochrane (Oxford, 1988), 78, but this is not prevalent elsewhere.

[58] For the West, see Anne Derbes and Mark Sandona, "*Ave charitate plena*: Variations on the Theme of Charity in the Arena Chapel," *Speculum* 76 (2001): 599–637; on the Virgin and *caritas* associated with a red rose, see 609, on the Virgin's red dalmatic type garment, see 613–615, 623; thank you to Anne Derbes for directing me to this article.

[59] Sancta Sanctorum Reliquary Box, Vatican cat. 61883.2.1–2. For the Faras painting, see Kazimierz Michalowski, *Faras Gallery* (Warsaw, 2014), 158–159.

[60] Evans, ed., *Faith and Power*, 368.

[61] Vatican, cod. lat. 3225 (*Vatican Vergil*), fol. 41r; Vienna, Nationalbibliothek, cod. theol. gr. 31 (*Vienna Genesis*), fols. 26 and 31; Henry Maguire, "The Depiction of Sorrow in Middle Byzantine Art," *DOP* 31 (1977): 123–174, at 159–160, figs. 2, 5 and 54.

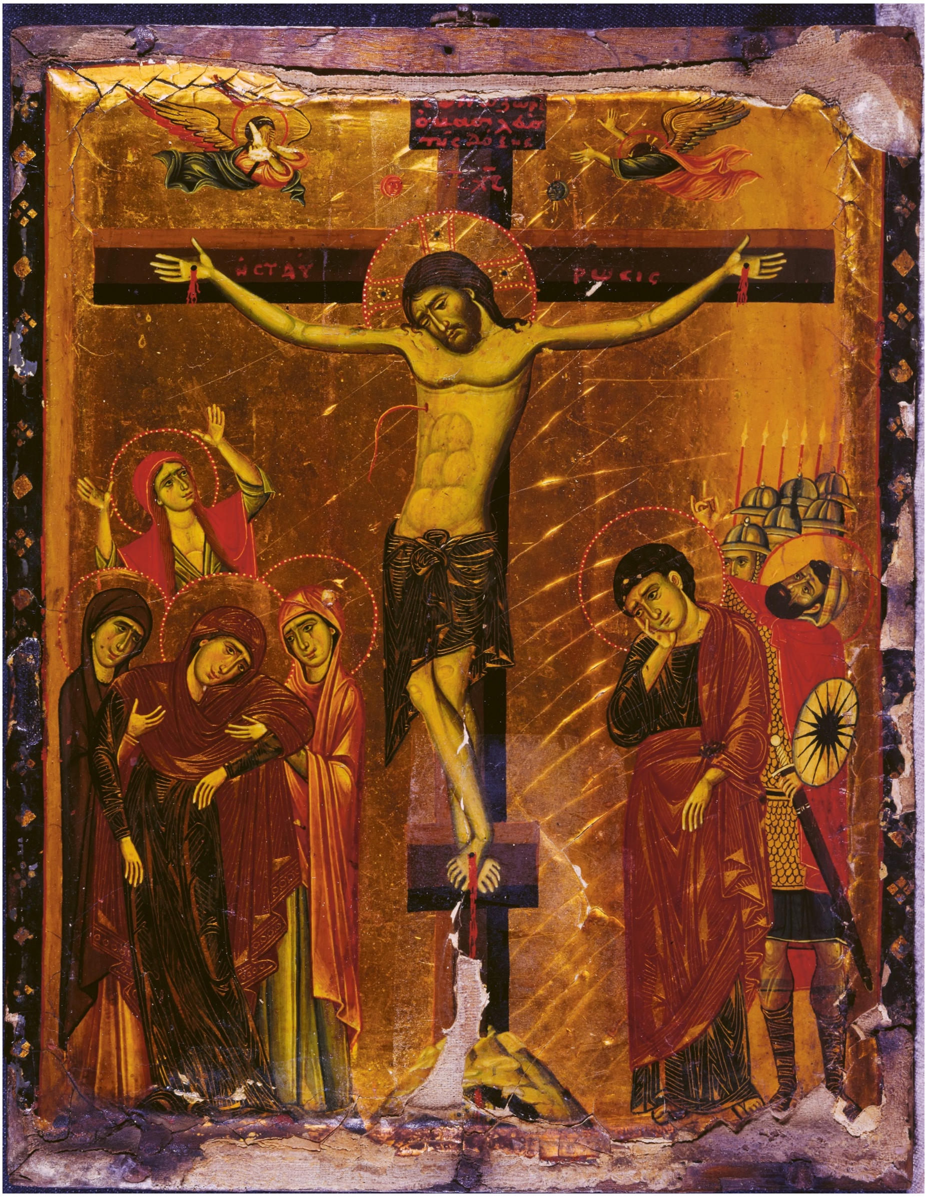

Fig. 8: St Catherine’s Monastery, Mount Sinai, Icon of Crucifixion; by permission of Saint Catherine’s Monastery, Sinai, Egypt. Photograph: Courtesy of Michigan-Princeton-Alexandria Expeditions to Mount Sinai.

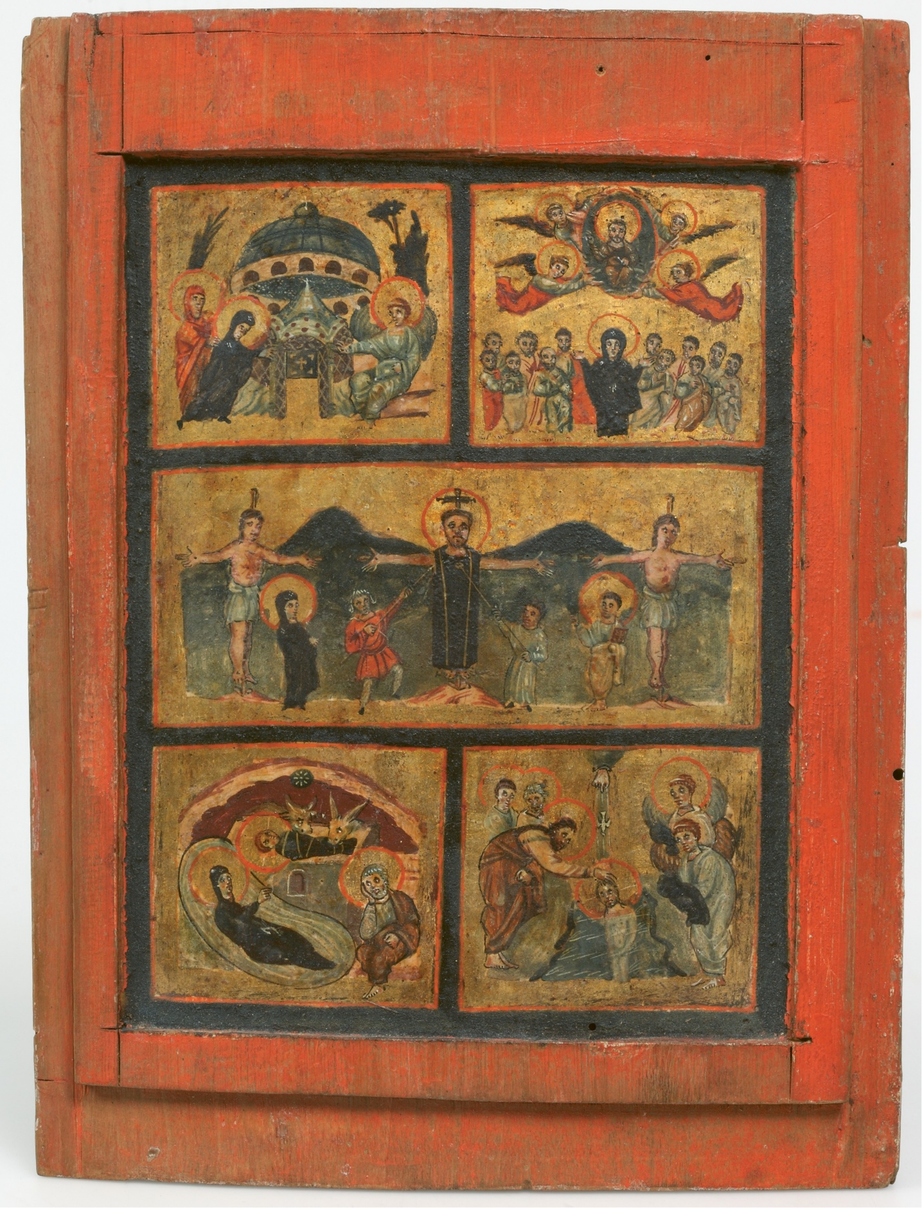

Fig. 9: Vatican, Cat. 61883.2.1–2, Sancta Sanctorum Reliquary Box, inner face of lid; Photo © Governorate of the Vatican City State - Directorate of the Vatican Museums. All rights reserved.

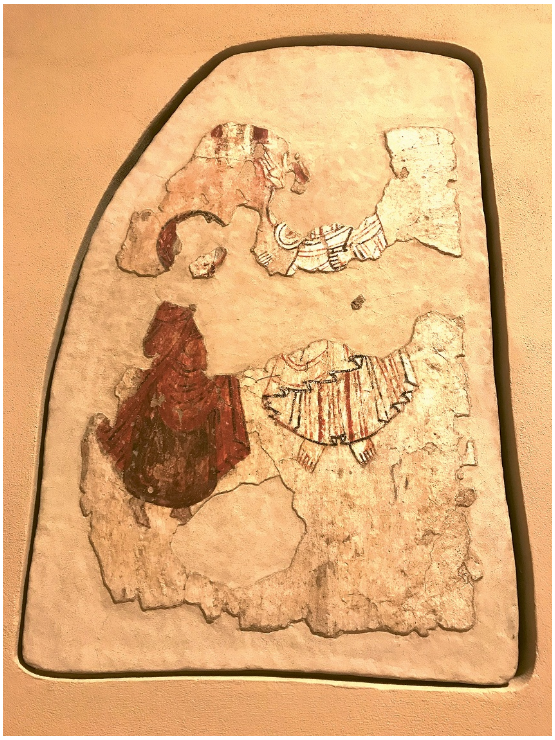

Fig. 10: National Museum, Warsaw, wall painting from cathedral, Faras, Nubia, Chairete (photo, Cecily Hennessy).

all three examples, the mourning women have loose hair, open clothes, and raised arms. Examples from Byzantium may be found in the 11th-century Vatican, cod. gr. 1156 and Parma, Bibliotheca Palatina, cod. 5, and in the 12th-century *Gelati Gospel*, Tbilisi, cod. 908.[62] It is this mourning figure that is adopted in Western depictions of Mary Magdalene and is seen in the woman in the icon in Sinai, with a low dress, loose hair, and raised arms. These characteristics are not indicative of harlotry, but rather of grief.

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[62] Vatican, cod. gr. 1156, fol. 194v; Parma, Bibliotheca Palatina, cod. 5, fol. 90v; Tbilisi, Georgian Academy of Sciences, Institut Rukopisej, cod. Q908, fol. 85v, in Ioannes Spatharakis, "The Influence of the Lithos in the Development of the Iconography of the Threnos," in *Byzantine East, Latin West: Art-historical Studies in Honor of Kurt Weitzmann*, eds. Doula Mouriki, Christopher Frederick Moss, and Katherine Kiefer (Princeton, 1995), 435–441, at 437, 439, figs. 3–4; Maguire, "Sorrow," 144, 146; also Kurt Weitzmann, "The Origin of the Threnos," in *De Artibus Opuscula XL: Essays in Honor of Erwin Panofsky*, ed. Millard Meiss (New York, 1961), 466–489, figs. 1–17, at 486 and fig. 16; repr. in K. Weitzmann, *Byzantine Book Illumination and Ivories* (London, 1980), study no. IX.

Regarding a cultural distinction between prostitution in Byzantium and in the West, in the West it was not unusual for harlotry to be segregated, with prostitutes required to operate in certain areas, either outside the city or in specified districts.[63] They could be grouped with others who were separated, such as Jews and lepers.[64] However, prostitution was not only tolerated, but in some sense promoted. It was regulated, brought in taxes, and was deemed useful. It is argued, for instance, by Augustine that, without prostitution, society would dissolve into chaos "through unsatisfied lust" and that it is better for a man to have unnatural sex with a prostitute than with his wife.[65] Prostitution grew extensively in the increased urbanisation after the 11th century and then was reigned in from the 12th century by both Church and secular authorities, largely unsuccessfully.[66] This, in France, led to the ghettoization of prostitutes in the 13th century and, in several areas of Europe, the wearing of distinctive dress to distinguish them.[67] Numerous continental towns had official brothels owned by the municipal authorities.[68] This occurred similarly in England, in port cities, but also in Southwark, in the jurisdiction of the bishop of Winchester.[69]

This close co-existence of prostitution and the Church may be indicated through iconography. Prostitutes are shown in central religious sites, such as at Notre Dame's south transept portal and Amiens cathedral's west façade, as a way of encouraging prostitutes into the Church.[70] Following the rise of Mary Magdalene's cult there was a greater drive to reform them.[71] One could also argue that it led to more compassion for them, a factor also present in the development of the cults of Mary of Egypt and of Pelagia.

In the West, prostitution was associated not only with sexual services for payment but also with lust and public display.[72] This is also the case in Byzantium, and dancers, actresses, and other performers were, at least in the early period, associated with prostitutes. *Porneia* encompasses not only prostitution but also sex outside of marriage or adultery.[73] However, prostitution generally refers to an individual selling his or her body or being under the control of someone else who sells it. Similarly, a slave is owned and controlled by a master or mistress. In the West, slavery was largely focused on trade with Muslim areas and was not an integrated part of society, even though slave markets persisted in certain areas such as Venice. It gradually waned in practice and by the 12th century had evolved into serfdom.[74] Slavery was more prevalent in Byzantium, and therefore some women, men, and children living and working within society there were owned and subject to another's will. Slavery was "not perceived as a harmful phenomenon," and men of the church as well as monasteries owned slaves.[75] Slave markets were a common feature in towns. Proxenetism, the sale of a child for the purposes of prostitution, as well as selling children into slavery, clearly occurred, as laws were passed against such practices.[76] Canon law prohibited prostituting female slaves, but again the practice persisted.[77] It may be that this integration of slavery into Byzantine society (speaking broadly) influenced the perception and acceptance of prostitution.

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[63] Noted by Jansen, *Making*, 174–175; Karras, *Common Women*, 15–16, 18–19, 84; also see Rossiaud, *Medieval Prostitution*, 9.

[64] Jansen, *Making*, 176–177.

[65] Augustine, *De Ordine*, 2.4.12, ed. Pius Knöll, Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum 63 (Vienna, 1922): "Banish prostitutes . . . and you reduce society to chaos through unsatisfied lust"; Augustine, *De bono coniugali,* 11.12, ed. Joseph Zycha, Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum 41 (Prague, 1900).

[66] Roberts, *Whores*, 66–78.

[67] Roberts, *Whores*, 78–81; Karras, *Common Women*, 20–21; Rossiaud, *Medieval Prostitution*, 57, 64, 78.

[68] Karras, *Common Women*, 32–35.

[69] Karras, *Common Women*, 35–47.

[70] Michael Camille, *Image on the Edge* (London, 1992), 140–141.

[71] Jansen, *Making*, 177–182; on this see James A. Brundage, "Prostitution in the Medieval Canon Law," *Signs* 4 (1976): 925–945, at 927.

[72] Jansen, *Making*, 168.

Another complex figure in terms of status is the concubine. Canon Law in the 7th century made punishable the act of a man abandoning his wife for another woman.[78] Leo VI made it so in secular law in the 890s and again in 907, yet it continued to be practiced.[79] This created a grey area between what was and what was not culturally tolerated. Mati Meyer has argued that the depiction of Levite's concubine (Judges 19–20) in books with disparate audiences illustrates this dichotomy.[80] An 11th-century codex from Mount Athos, Esphigmenou, cod. 14 shows in detail the rape and dismemberment of the ill-fated concubine, making vivid allusions to promiscuity by her dress and the horrors of her ordeal (Fig. 11).[81] Similarly, a copy of the Homilies of Gregory of Nazianzos, Taphou cod. 14, shows a particularly graphic scene with the Levite standing with his sword raised ready to cut a concubine into pieces.[82] Mati Meyer attributes these manuscripts, both dated 1060–1080, to monastic usage and compares them with copies of the *Octateuchs* made, she argues, for imperial use in the 11th to 13th centuries.[83] In, for instance, Vatican, cod. gr. 747, only the dead concubine is depicted and not the details of her rape and dismemberment.[84] Meyer's argument is that the manuscripts made in a monastic setting and for monastic use show vividly the deserved punishments for a misguided life, while the manuscripts made for imperial use do not. This is because the emperors have concubines and mistresses, a customary habit at court, seemingly practiced by Michael III, Leo VI, and Constantine IX Monomachos. Therefore, the perils of concubinage were not to be highlighted in their books.[85] Indeed, two of the Octateuch manuscripts were made in the final years of Monomachos' reign (d. 1055). This ambivalence is another piece in the complex puzzle of attitudes towards women outside of conventional relationships, with concubinage, slavery, and prostitution evidently widespread in Byzantine life. It may not be surprising that there was a reluctance to link harlotry with a key figure in the Gospels, even if she is reformed.

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[73] Youval Rotman, *Byzantine Slavery and the Mediterranean World*, trans. Jane Marie Todd (London, 2009), 249, n. 36.

[74] Seymour Drescher and Stanley L. Engerman, *A Historical Guide to World Slavery* (Oxford, 1998), 197–200, 271–272.

[75] Rotman, *Slavery*, 135.

[76] Nov. Just 14, in *Corpus Iuris Civilis*, vol. 3: *Novellae*, eds. Rudolf Schoell und Guilelmus Kroll (Berlin, 1895; repr. 1972); for translation, see David Miller and Peter Sarris, *The Novels of Justinian: A Complete Annotated English Translation* (Cambridge, 2018), 181–184; Evelyne Patlagean *Pauvreté économique et pauvreté sociale à Byzance, 4e–7e siècles* (Paris, 1977), 154; in Rotman, *Slavery*, 175 and 263, n. 294.

[77] Rotman, *Slavery*, 136 and 249, n. 37: Canon law of 14 titles, *Nomocanon 14 titulorum*; J. B. Pitra, *Juris Ecclesiastici Graecorum Historia et Monumenta*, vol. 2 (Rome, 1864–1868), 625–626; also, a Canon attributed to the patriarch Nikephoros (but which may be later) says a master who prostitutes a slave must marry off the slave or risk excommunication; Rotman, *Slavery*, 136 and 249, n. 38; *Juris Ecclesiastici*, vol. 2, 344, Canon 182.

[78] Council in Trullo of 692, Canon 87; see Karl Joseph von Héfélé and Henri Leclercq, *Histoire des Conciles*, vol. 3.1 (Paris, 1909), 573.

[79] Pierre Noailles and Alphonse Dain, *Les Novelles de Léon VI le Sage, Texte et* traduction, Nouvelle Collection de Textes et Documents (Paris, 1944), Novel 91, 298–301; Joëlle Beaucamp, *Le statut de la femme à Byzance (4e-7e siècle). I. Le droit impérial* (Paris, 1990), 200–201.

[80] Mati Meyer, "The Levite's Concubine: Imaging the Marginal Woman in Byzantine Society," *Studies in Iconography* 27 (2006): 45–76, here 45–56, 57.

While Mary Magdalene, in the Christological narrative, has an important and trusted role in the events of Christ's life, she, to some degree, also became marginalized. She is not a significant saint in Byzantium, she had no church dedicated to her in Constantinople, and she rarely appears in imagery except within a narrative context.[86] It is relevant here to explore some reasons why this might be the case.

In early traditions she faced marginalization from the male apostles. In a male dominated society, the assumed servile nature of women was perceived as the natural

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[81] Athos, Esphigmenou, cod. 14, fol. 415r, 415v, 416r; S. M. Pelekanidis, P. C. Christou, Ch. Tsioumis, and S. N. Kadas, *The Treasures of Mount Athos: Illuminated Manuscripts, II. The Monasteries of Iveron, St. Panteleimon, Esphigmenou, and Chilindari* (Athens, 1975), 382, figs. 401–403; Meyer, "Concubinage," figs. 10–12.

[82] Jerusalem, Taphou, 14, fol. 110v; Meyer, "Concubinage," fig. 7.

[83] Meyer, "Concubinage," 57; for a discussion of the monastic origins of Taphou 14 and Mount Athos, Esphigmenou, cod. 14, see Meyer, 72, n. 34. For comparison, the Octoteuch manuscripts are Vatican, cod. gr. 747 (1070), Smyrna (1150), Vatican, cod. gr. 746 (1150), and Athos, Vatopedi, cod. 602 (1280).

[84] Vatican, cod. gr. 747, fol. 253v.

[85] Meyer, "Concubinage," esp. 62–63.

[86] However, her feast day may be considered a medium and not a minor feast; it is listed so in the foundation *typikon* of the Black Mountain, a monastery just north of Antioch; see *Byzantine Monastic Foundation Documents: A Complete Translation of the Surviving Founders' Typika and Testaments*, eds. John Philip Thomas, Angela Constantinides Hero and Giles Constable, Dumbarton Oaks Studies 35 (Washington, D.C., 2000), vol. 1, 415.

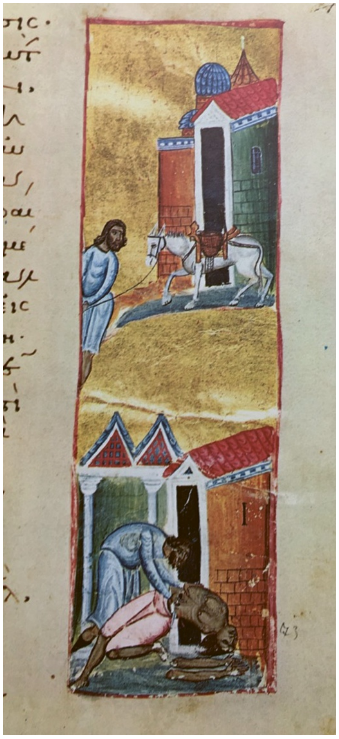

Fig. 11: Athos, Esphigmenou, cod. 14, fol. 416r, The dismemberment of the concubine's corpse.

order.[87] Arguments have been put forward that Mary Magdelene's role as the first witness to Jesus' resurrection has been suppressed. For instance, Ann Graham Brock argues that Luke's Gospel enhances Peter's role at the cost of Mary Magdalene's.[88] It is certainly the case that the majority of early representations of the Resurrection afford a prominent role to the women. However, an ivory in the Bayerisches Nationalmuseum, Munich, dated to c. 400, showing the women at the tomb, also depicts an Ascension witnessed by Peter and a James (commonly interpreted as the Lord's brother) (Fig. 12). It is likely that this depicts details from the 2nd-century Egyptian *Apocryphon of James,* also known as the *Letter of James*, in which the men are given instructions by Christ prior to his Ascension.[89] This story may be conflated here with the apocryphal *Gospel of Peter*, as this text mentions that two soldiers were keeping guard (seen by the tomb) and that Christ ascended directly from the tomb.[90] Thus the male apostles are witness to both the Resurrection and the Ascension.

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[87] For instance, Rosemary Radford Ruether, "The Liberation of Christology from Patriarchy," *New Blackfriars* 66 (1985): 324–355.

[88] Ann Graham Brock, *Mary Magdalene, the first apostle: the struggle for authority*, Harvard Theological Studies 51 (Cambridge, MA, 2003), esp. 12–13, 19–40, and, in non-canonical texts, 73–104.

[89] Elliott, *Apocryphal New Testament*, 673–681; David R. Cartlidge and J. Keith Elliott, *Art and the Christian Apocrypha* (London, 2001), 133, 222, fig. 4.36; Herbert L. Kessler, "The Christian Realm," in *Age of Spirituality: Late Antique and Early Christian Art, Third to Seventh Century: Catalogue of the exhibition at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, November 19, 1977, through February 12, 1978,* ed. Kurt

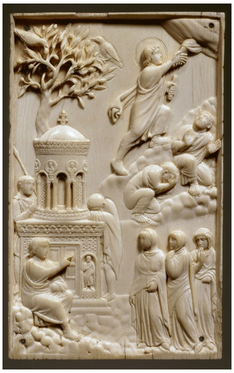

Fig. 12: Munich, Bayerisches Nationalmuseum, Ivory Panel with Resurrection (women at the tomb) and Ascension; Relief: Auferstehung und Himmelfahrt Christi, Inv.-Nr. MA 157. Foto Nr. D27841 © Bayerisches Nationalmuseum München.

A second source of marginalization is her relationship with the Mother of God. In various apocryphal and patristic texts from as early as the 4th century, the Mother of God takes over or joins Mary in her role as the first witness of Christ's Resurrection, both at the empty tomb and in the scene where the risen Christ appears to her, a part not given to the Mother of God in the Gospel text.[91] The precedence of her role is central, at the cost of demoting Mary Magdalene. Illustrations of both women at the tomb date from the early period, such as in the 6th century Sancta Sanctorum reliquary box in the Vatican, where the Mother of God is with Mary Magdalene in the upper left scene. She is identifiable from her depiction in the Nativity, Crucifixion, and Ascension (Fig. 9).[92] The pairing also occurs in later manuscripts, as in Athos, Dionysiou 587, folio 170v, illustrating John 20:1–10, in which Mary Magdalene tells Peter and John about the empty tomb and John then looks into it (Fig. 13).[93] In the Gospels of Mark

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Weitzmann (New York, 1979), 454, 455, fig. 67; Herbert L. Kessler, "Scenes from the Acts of the Apostles on Some Early Christian Ivories," *Gesta* 18 (1979): 109–119, at 110.

[90] Elliott, *Apocryphal New Testament*, 150–158, at 156–157, v. 34–42.

[91] On this, see Ciro Giannelli, "Témoignages patristiques grecs en faveur d'une apparition du Christ Ressucité à la Vierge Marie," *RÉB* 11 (1953): 106–119; James D. Breckenridge, "'Et Prima Vidit': The Iconography of the Appearance of Christ to his Mother," *The Art Bulletin* 39 (1957): 9–32, esp. 11–14, and in early art, 14–15; Kurt Weitzmann, "Eine vorikonoklastische Ikone des Sinai mit der Darstellung des Chairete," in *Tortulae: Studien zu altchristlichen und byzantinischen Monumenten*, ed. Walter Nikolaus Schumacher, Römische Quartalschrift für christliche Altertumskunde und Kirchengeschichte, Suppl. H. 30 (Vienna, 1966), 317–325, pls. 80–83, at 319–320.

[92] *Sancta Sanctorum Reliquary Box*, Vatican, Cat. 61883.2.1–2.

[93] Athos, Dionysiou, cod. 587, fol.170v; see *Treasures of Mount Athos: Illuminated Manuscripts. 1. The Protaton and the monasteries of Dionysiou, Koutloumousiou, Xeropotamou and Gregoriou*, Treasures of Mount Athos: Illuminated Manuscripts 1 (Athens, 1974), 446, fig. 275.

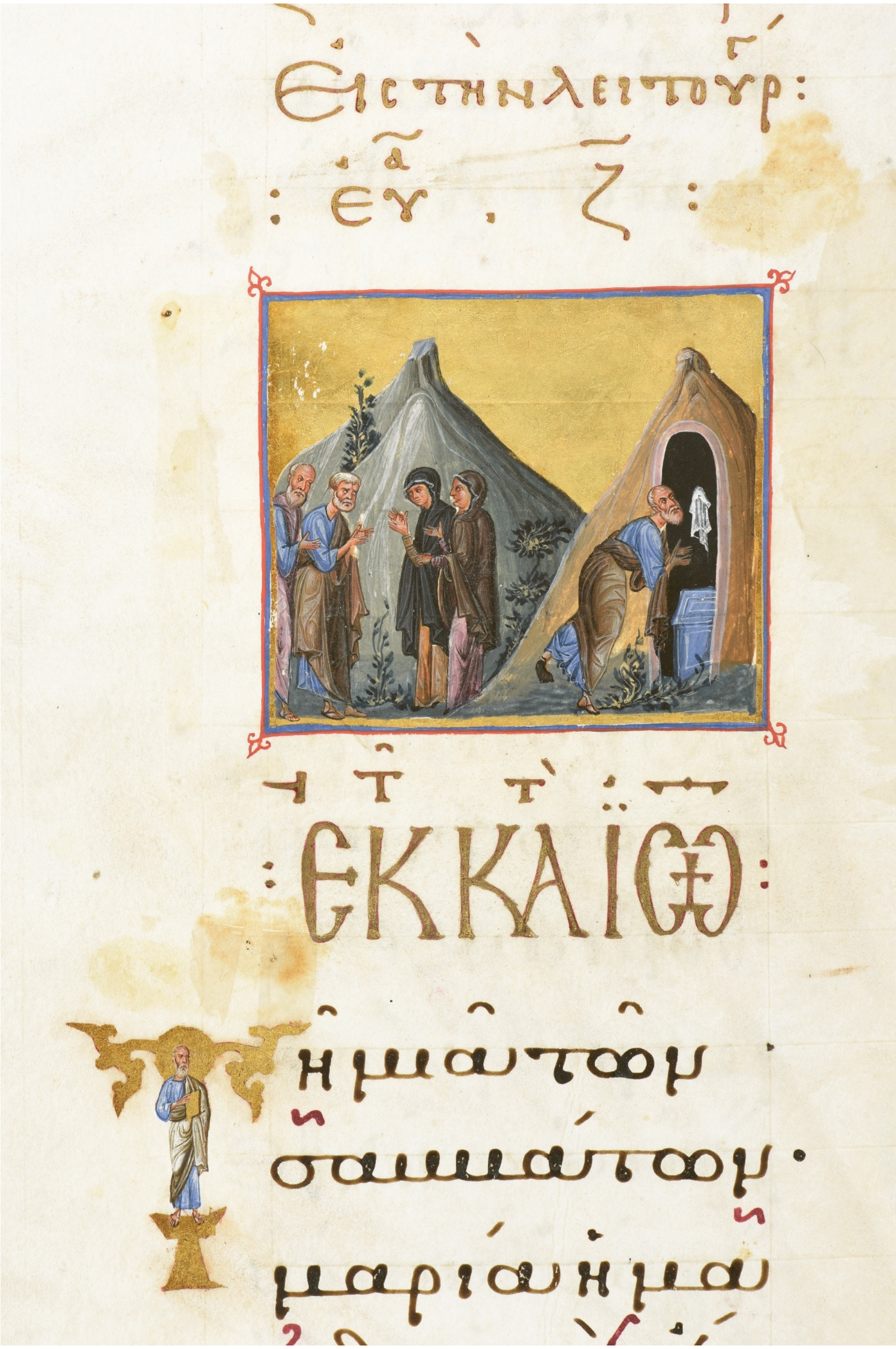

Fig. 13: Athos, Dionysiou, cod. 587, folio 170v, Mary Magdalene tells Saints Peter and John about the empty tomb, Saint John looks into the empty tomb. By kind permission of Dionysiou Monastery, Mount Athos.

and John, Mary Magdalene is the sole first witness of the resurrected Christ in the scene known as the *Chairete* (Mark 16:9–10, John 20:17), although in the Gospel of Mark this is almost certainly not in the original text. In Matthew two women are present, the Magdalene and 'the other Mary' (Mathew 28:8–10). The Mother of God and Mary Magdalene are both shown in the probably 6th-century *Rabbula Gospels*, the Mother of God indicated by a halo, and in the 9th-century Paris gr. 510, where the blue gown worn by the woman kneeling on the right is the same as that of the Mother of God in both the Crucifixion and Deposition in the registers above.[94] In the development of Orthodox theology, the Church Fathers made the Mother of God "a model of behaviour."[95] Amongst women, she takes precedence. She had 118 churches dedicated to her in Constantinople, and Mary Magdalene had none. Her popularity also perhaps overshadowed the roles of other female saints: Anne, Euphemia, Barbara, Anastasia, and Thekla had respectively six, five, four, four, and either three or four churches dedicated to them.[96]

Thus Mary Magdalene in Byzantium remains a paradox. She never gains the rich emotional identity of Luke's sinner or the West's reformed harlot. However, in imagery, she is a persistent presence at the cross, the tomb and the garden in scenes of Christ's passion. Singled out from the other *myrrophores*, she is an example of loyalty and of purity and, significantly, in some representations, a leader of men.

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[94] Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, cod. Pluteus 1, 56, fol. 13a; in Breckenridge, "'Et Prima Vidit',"14 and Fig. 1; Paris, cod. gr. 510, fol. 30v; see Leslie Brubaker, *Vision and Meaning in Ninth-Century Byzantium* (Cambridge, 1999, 2008), 299–302, Fig. 7; Brubaker refers to this as Mary Magdalene and Mary the Mother of James, see p. 299.

[95] Niki Tsironi, "George of Nicomedia: Convention and Originality in the Homily on Good Friday," *Studia Patristica* 30 (1997): 332–336, at 332.

[96] Janin, "Les églises et monastères," 153.

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Frank Meier

Prostituierte in mittelalterlichen Städten – zwischen Achtung und Verachtung

> Wenn du die Dirnen vertreibst,
> werden die Leidenschaften alles verwirren.[1]

1 Einführung

In der historischen Wissenschaft ist es mittlerweile gang und gebe, mit modernen soziologischen Begriffen – etwa Marginalisierung, Stigmatisierung und Diskriminierung – die komplexe mittelalterliche Ständegesellschaft zu ordnen und zu zergliedern, um mit ihnen etwa die Lebensbedingungen von „Randgruppen“[2] als Ganzes oder von „Randständigen“ bzw. „Außenseitern“ als Einzelpersonen zu beschreiben. Das ist insofern problematisch, da die mittelalterlichen Quellen für diese Menschen keinen zeitgenössischen Oberbegriff kennen.[3]

Der Historiker František Graus versteht unter Randgruppen „Personen oder Gruppen, die Normen der Gesellschaft, in der sie leben, nicht anerkennen bzw. nicht einhalten oder nicht einhalten können und aufgrund dieser Ablehnung bzw. Unfähigkeit (infolge sog. nichtkonformen Verhaltens) von der Majorität nicht als gleichwertig akzeptiert werden“, weswegen Randständigkeit nur sozial in Bezug auf konkrete soziale Bezugssysteme, insbesondere im Hinblick auf die Normen einer historisch gegebenen Gesellschaft bestimmt werden könne. Nach František Graus ist Marginalisierung ein Prozess, der zur Abgrenzung von ganzen Gruppen oder Einzelpersonen führt. Die Marginalisierung sei unterschiedlich je nach Prägnanz der Ablehnung, nach der Gewichtigkeit der infrage gestellten Normen und der Intensität der Stigmatisierung durch die Gesellschaft. Marginalität ist Graus zur Folge „immer das Ergebnis eines Andersseins und der Reaktion der Majorität (Stigmatisierung)“. Mit der Stigmatisierung sind nach Graus Maßnahmen verbunden, die zur Ausgrenzung von Randgruppen bzw. Randständigen führen.[4] Gemeinsam ist allen Beschreibungen der Prozesse der Marginalisierung, Stigmatisierung und Diskriminierung, die die Entstehung

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[1] „Aufer meretrices de rebus humanis, turbaveris omnia libidinibus [...].“ (Augustinus, De Ordine, in *PL* 32, II, IV, 12).

[2] *Wörterbuch der Soziologie*, hrsg. Wilhelm Bernsdorf, 2. Auflage (Stuttgart, 1969), 862.

[3] František Graus, „Randgruppen der städtischen Gesellschaft im Mittelalter,“ in *Ausgewählte Aufsätze von František Graus (1959–1989)*, Vorträge und Forschungen 55 (Stuttgart, 2002), 303–350, hier 307.

[4] Graus, „Randgruppen,“ 312–313.

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von Randgruppen bzw. Außenseitern befördern, deren begriffliche Unschärfe, was sich auch in der Quellensprache widerspiegelt.[5]

Ohne tiefer in die Diskussion der komplexen Begriffs- und Prozessgeschichte einsteigen zu wollen, fragen wir danach, ob städtische Prostituierte an den Rand der Gesellschaft gedrängt und ausgegrenzt (Marginalisierung), mit einem Stigma bzw. Schandmahl belegt (Stigmatisierung) und gesellschaftlich herabgesetzt und benachteiligt (negative Diskriminierung) wurden. Denn während in der Regel die Prostituierten zu den mittelalterlichen und frühneuzeitlichen Randgruppen gerechnet werden, so ist dies bei genauerem Hinsehen durchaus zweifelhaft. Anne Terroine fragte etwa, ob Perette de Francquesnay, die um 1442 bereits „anscheinend mit Zustimmung aller in der gleichen Nachbarschaft in die Prostitution verwickelt ist“, unter die Randgeschöpfe gezählt werden könne, die gekommen seien, um ihre Schande in Paris zu verbergen?[6]

2 Prostitution im Mittelalter

2.1 Arten der Prostitution: öffentliche Dirnen, Pfaffenkellnerinnen und „unendliche Frauen“

„Unterdrückt die öffentlichen Dirnen und die Gewalt der Leidenschaften wird alles über den Haufen werfen“, schreibt bereits der spätantike Kirchenlehrer Augustinus (um 354–430).[7] Thomas de Chobham listet zwar 1216 in seiner *Summa confessorum* die Prostitution als verbotenes Delikt auf, liefert aber andererseits eine langatmige Begründung für dessen Duldung durch die Kirche.[8] Daher bemühte sich die Kirche darum, die Dirnen wieder auf einen moralisch guten Weg zu führen und verwies auf das Vorbild der Maria Magdalena als bekehrte Sünderin.[9] Der Ausspruch von Augustinus galt freilich nur für die gewerbsmäßige Prostitution, die bereits der römische Jurist Ulpian (um 170–228) durchaus im modernen Sinne als einen Beruf zum Gelderwerb definiert:

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[5] Graus, „Randgruppen,“ 327.

[6] *Revue historique de droit francais et français étetranger* 56/2 (1978): 253–267, hier 264: „Quant à Perette de Francquesnay, qui s’adonne depuis de longues années et, semble-t-il, avec l’accord de tous à la prostitution dans le même quartier, peut-elle vraiment être rangée, comme on le fait volontiers aujord`hui, au nombre des créatures marginales venues cacher leur honte dans la grande ville?“, Anne Terroine, „Le roi des ribauds de l’Hôtel du roi et les prostituées parisiennes ....“

[7] Augustinus, *De ordine 2*, 4, in *PL* 32, Sp. 100.

[8] Thomae de Chobham, *Summa confessorum*, hrsg. F. Broomfield, Analecta Mediaevalia Namurcensia 25 (Leuven, 1968), 290, 346.

[9] Graus, „Randgruppen,“ 322.

> Wir meinen, dass nicht nur diejenige eine öffentliche Tätigkeit ausübt, die sich im Bordell prostituiert, sondern auch diejenige, die, wie es üblich ist, etwa in Tavernen und an anderen Orten ihr natürliches Gefühl für Anstand nicht schont. Aber unter 'öffentlich' verstehen wir 'durcheinander', das heißt 'wahllos', nicht diejenige, die Ehebruch und Unzucht begeht, sondern diejenige, die sich auf den Beruf einer Prostituierten einlässt. Wenn sie daher mit einem oder zwei Männern ein geschlechtliches Verhältnis hat und dafür Geld empfängt, kann man nicht sagen, daß sie sich öffentlich feilbietet. Andererseits hat Oktavenus zu Recht gesagt, dass sogar diejenige, die sich ohne Gewinn öffentlich anbietet, zu den Prostituierten gerechnet werden muss.[10]

Käuflichkeit und häufiger Partnerwechsel zeichneten ebenfalls den Begriff der Prostitution im Mittelalter aus, wobei anders als in der römischen Antike nicht zwischen gewerbsmäßigen Dirnen und untreuen Ehefrauen unterschieden wurde.[11] Solche Frauen heißen in den Quellen etwa „hubschwib, kebsfrowe" (Kebse = Sklavin) oder „mätze".[12] So wurde 1456 in Schaffhausen Ulrich Payer inhaftiert, da er als Ehemann Beziehungen zu einem „hubschwip" hatte, womit neben einer gewerbsmäßigen Prostituierten auch eine Nebenfrau gemeint sein kann.[13] „Wilde Ehen" ohne Trauschein, so ein Fazit von Beate Schuster, waren bei den Unterschichten anders als im Patriziat oder in der Handwerkerschaft freilich die Regel und ließen sich wegen deren größerer Mobilität kaum kontrollieren.[14] In der Regel dürfte es sich dabei um Winkelehen, also heimlich geschlossene Ehen ohne Priester und Zeugen, halten, die nach dem damaligen Kirchenrecht voll gültig waren, aber vor allem durch Volksprediger wie Berthold von Regensburg (um 1210–1272) aus Sorge um die Frauen angeprangert wurden:

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[10] D.23.2.43, in *Corpus Iuris Civilis*, Bd. 1: *Digesta*, hrsg. Theodor Mommsen, 12. Auflage (Berlin,1954); Annette Lömker-Schlögel, „Prostituierte – umb vermeydung willen merers übels in der cristenhait," in *Randgruppen der spätmittelalterlichen Gesellschaft. Ein Hand- und Studienbuch*, hrsg. Bernd Ulrich Hergemöller (Warendorf, 2001), 56–88, hier 58.

[11] Annette Lömker-Schlögell, „Prostituierte – umb vermeydung willen merers übels in der cristenhait," in *Randgruppen der spätmittelalterlichen Gesellschaft. Ein Hand- und Studienbuch*, hrsg. Bernd Ulrich Hergemöller (Warendorf, 2001), 56–88; Jacques Rossiaud, *Dame Venus. Prostitution im Mittelalter* (München, 1989); Ernst Schubert, „Gauner, Dirnen und Gelichter in deutschen Städten des Mittelalters," in *Mentalität und Alltag im Spätmittelalter*, hrsg. Cord Meckseper und Elisabeth Schraut, 2. Auflage (Göttingen, 1991), 97–128; Beate Schuster, *Die freien Frauen. Dirnen und Frauenhäuser im 15. und 16. Jahrhundert*, Geschichte und Geschlechter 12 (Frankfurt am Main, 1995); Beate Schuster, *Die unendlichen Frauen. Prostitution und städtische Ordnung in Konstanz im 15./16. Jahrhundert* (Konstanz, 1996); Peter Schuster, *Das Frauenhaus. Städtische Bordelle in Deutschland (1350–1600)* (Paderborn, 1992).

[12] Schuster, *Die unendlichen Frauen*, 80; vgl. auch die zahlrechen Bezeichnungen für Prostituierte im Deutschen Rechtswörterbuch (DRW online).

[13] Stadtarchiv Schaffhausen, Ratsprotokoll 1456, 17–18; Oliver Landolt, „Prostitution in der spätmittelalterlichen Stadt Schaffhausen," in *Schaffhauser Beiträge zur Geschichte 87* (2013): 85–134, 92–93 (Fußnote 41).

[14] Schuster, *Die unendlichen Frauen*, 80.

> Man soll auch in den Winkeln keine Ehe haben oder machen. Darum, ihr Frauen, durch den allmächtigen Gott, so hütet euch vor der Winkelehe. Wer euch vor den Leuten die Ehe nicht geloben will, dessen Gelübde sollt ihr in dem Winkel nimmer annehmen [...], denn er will euch betrügen.[15]

Freie Prostituierte, also Frauen, die nicht im städtischen Bordell anschafften, sollten nach den Konstanzer Ratsbeschlüssen von 1450, 1451 und 1453 ebenfalls eine „Haushurensteuer“ errichten.[16] Das war nicht mehr als ein frommer Wunsch, weil sich diese Frauen kaum aufspüren ließen. Auch die sog. „Pfaffenkellnerinnen“ wurden in Konstanz 1507 zur Gruppe der Dirnen gezählt.[17] In Bern jagte man diese „Pfaffendirnen“ bereits 1405 aus der Stadt, wie ein Bild in der Chronik des Spiezer Schilling zeigt.[18] Die männlichen Prostituierten, auch Sodomiter (abgeleiteter Name von der in der Bibel erwähnten sündhaften Stadt Sodom) genannt, die sich nicht zur Fortpflanzung eignende Sexualpraktiken mit dem anderen oder dem gleichen Geschlecht bzw. mit Tieren ausübten, wurden anders als die weiblichen Dirnen massiv verfolgt und werden in diesem Beitrag nicht berücksichtigt.[19]

2.2 Vielfältige Wege in die Prostitution: von der Armut bis zur Zuhälterei

Hans Wilhelm Kirchhof hatte im 16. Jahrhundert Mitleid für „die armen huren, die manichmal auß armut wol auch ihr tag nicht über einmal sich in den handel begeben.“[20] Ebenso warnte der Straßburger Almosenschaffner Lukas Hachfurt 1532 in einer Denkschrift vor den Folgen der Armut:

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[15] Zit. nach: Georg Denzler, *Die verbotene Lust* (München, 1988), 110.

[16] Schuster, *Die unendlichen Frauen*, 90.

[17] Schuster, *Die unendlichen Frauen*, 95.

[18] Spiezer Schilling 539. „Pfaffendirnen“ werden in Bern gefangengenommen (1405). Ein Geistlicher versucht eine der Frauen gegen Geld auszulösen, https://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/en/bbb/Mss-hh-I0016//539 [Zugriff 11.09.2019].

[19] Vgl. zu den Sodomitern: John Boswell, *Christianity, Social Tolerance and Homosexuality. Gay People in Western Europe from the Beginning of the Christian Era to the Fourteenth Century* (Chicago, 1980); Alan Bray, *Homosexuality in Renaissance England* (New York, 1982); *The Pursuit of Sodomy: Male Homosexuality in Renaissance and Enlightenment Europe*, hrsg. Kent Gerard und Gert Hekma (London, 1989); Jonathan Goldberg, *Sodometries: Renaissance Texts, Modern Sexualities* (Stanford, 1992); Bernd-Ulrich Hergemöller, „Sodomiter – Erscheinungsformen und Kausalfaktoren des spätmittelalterlichen Kampfes gegen Homosexuelle,“ in *Randgruppen in der spätmittelalterlichen Gesellschaft: ein Hand- und Studienbuch*, hrsg. Bernd-Ulrich Hergemöller (Warendorf, 2001), 388–431; Bernd-Ulrich Hergemöller, *Sodom und Gomorrha: Zur Alltagswirklichkeit und Verfolgung Homosexueller im Mittelalter*, 2. Auglage (Hamburg, 2000); Mark D. Jordan, *The Invention of Sodomy in Christian Theology* (Chicago, 1997); Hubertus Lutterbach, *Sexualität im Mittelalter. Eine Kulturstudie anhand von Bußbüchern des 6. bis 12. Jahrhunderts* (Köln, 1999); Helmut Puff, *Sodomy in Reformation Germany and Switzerland, 1400–1600* (Chicago, 2003); Michael Rocke, *Forbidden Friendships: Homosexuality and Male Culture in Renaissance Florence* (New York, 1996).

> deßhalb müssen sie ellende bettler werden und bliben, so sie in der jugendt kein hilf haben, und im alter gibt es diebe oder sunst ful leitschen [Prostituierte], und wan sie wol geraten, so werden saeckträger und kärchleinslüt [Karrer] daraus [...][21]

Das zeigt auch das Beispiel der zwei Jungfrauen, denen ihre Aussteuer und somit die Möglichkeit zu heiraten genommen wurde und die in der Prostitution landeten, wobei die eine nach Regensburg und die andere nach Nürnberg in die „gemainen Frauenhäuser“ ging.[22] „Die Ordnung der gemeinen Weiber in den Frauenhäusern“ zu Nürnberg aus dem 15. Jahrhundert – das erste Bordell bestand seit 1403 – enthält ausführliche Bestimmungen über die Ernährung und Bekleidung der Dirnen – sicherlich ein Hinweis auf deren Armut.[23] Der *Codex Calixtinus*, eine Werbehandschrift für die Pilgerfahrt nach Santiago de Compostela, sagt, dass die Wirtsmägde am Jakobsweg zu verdammen seien, „die vom Teufel getrieben, nachts zur Unzucht und aus Geldgier sich an das Bett irgendeines Pilgers schleichen.“[24] Im reichen Avignon aber haben sich nur 15 Prozent der Mädchen freiwillig und nicht aus Armut prostituiert.[25] In Konstanz begann im 17. Jahrhundert Ursula Belzenhofer bereits mit 14 Jahren als Prostituierte zu arbeiten, wohl um sich so durchs Leben zu schlagen.[26] Die vereinzelten Quellen zeigen, dass reine Armut oder die Aussicht auf materiellen Gewinn ohne eigentliche Not Frauen dazu veranlassten, sich zu prostituieren.

Neben der Armut war die Vergewaltigung einer Frau eine weitere Ursache. Für Notzucht drohten bereits die frühmittelalterlichen Volksrechte (*Leges)*) hohe Strafen an. So legte die zwischen 507 und 511 auf Anordnung des fränkischen Königs Chlodwigs I. verfasste *Lex Salica* hohe Geldbußen bis zu 8000 Pfennigen (200 Schilinge) für die Vergewaltigung einer Frau fest (§ 14,9; § 15,2).[27] Selbst die Berührung einer Frau wurde in diesem Stammesrecht mit einer Geldbuße in Abhängigkeit vom Körperteil bis zu 1800 Pfennigen geahndet (45 Schillinge) (§ 26, 1–4).[28] Zum Vergleich forderte die *Lex Salica* etwa für den Diebstahl eines saugenden Ferkels aus einem Gehege 120 Pfennige (3 Schillinge), eines älteren Ferkels von der Weide 40 Pfennige (1 Schilling), eines Mutterschweins oder eines Ebers 700 Pfennige (17 ½ Schillinge) und einer ganzen Herde mit 25 Schweinen 2500 Pfennige (62 ½ Schillinge).[29] Die Belästigung einer Frau im Frühmittelalter konnte also einen Mann finanziell ruinieren. Die Strafen für die Vergewaltigung einer Frau wurden in den nächsten Jahrhunderten verschärft und im Sachsenspiegel des Ritters Eike von Repgow aus dem beginnenden 13. Jahrhundert mit Enthauptung des Täters bestraft (Landrecht II 13, § 5). Die Vergewaltigung einer fahrenden Frau und selbst der eigenen Friedel, also der Freundin, wurde nach dem Sachsenspiegel mit dem Tode geahndet (Landrecht III 46, § 1).[30] Dies galt ebenso für die Notzucht an einer Prostituierten (Landrecht III 46, § 11). Auch die mittelalterlichen Stadtrechte legten für dieses Delikt die Todesstrafe fest. Für die Notzucht an Prostituierten gab es in den mittelalterlichen Ratsabschieden allerdings keine einheitlichen Bestimmungen. Oft wird diese Gewalttat nur im Zusammenhang mit „ehrbaren“ Frauen erwähnt. So sieht etwa das Goslaer Stadtrecht aus der Zeit von 1330 bis 1350 für Vergewaltigung die Enthauptung vor (§ 63), legt aber der bedrohten Frau auf, sich durch lautes Rufen zu wehren (§ 93).[31] Im Brünner Stadtrecht aus dem Anfang des 14. Jahrhun-

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[20] Ernst Schubert, „Soziale Randgruppen und Bevölkerungsentwicklung im Mittelalter,“ *Saeculum* 39/3–4 (1988): 294–333.

[21] Thomas Fischer, „Armut, Bettler, Almosen. Die Anfänge städtischer Sozialfürsorge im ausgehenden Mittelalter,“ in *Stadt im Wandel. Kunst und Kultur des Bürgertums in Norddeutschland 1150–1500*, hrsg. Cord Meckseper (Stuttgart, 1985), 271–286, hier 273.

[22] Gottfried Lammert, *Zur Geschichte des bürgerlichen Lebens und der öffentlichen Gesundheitspflege, sowie insbesondere der Sanitätsanstalten in Süddeutschland* (Regensburg, 1980),75.

[23] *Nürnberger Polizeiordnungen aus dem XIII. bis XV. Jahrhundert*, hrsg. Joseph Baader, Bibliothek des literarischen Vereins in Stuttgart 63, 1861, Nr. 18, 117–121, hier 118, https://reader.digitale-sammlungen.de/resolve/display/bsb10737713.html [Zugriff 11.09.2019].

[24] *Libellus Sancti Jacobi: Auszüge aus dem Jakobsbuch des 12. Jahrhunderts*. Ins Deutsche übertragen und kommentiert von Hans-Wilhelm Klein und Klaus Herbers, 2. Auflage (Tübingen, 2018), 56.

[25] Jacques Rossiaud, *Dame Venus. Prostitution im Mittelalter* (München, 1989), 45.

[26] Gerhard Fritz, *Geschichte der Sexualität von den Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart – Südwestdeutschland und seine Nachbargebiete* (Heidelberg, 2016), 161.

[27] *Lex Salica*, hrsg. Karl August Eckhardt, Monumenta Germaniae Historica; Leges nationum Germanicarum, Bd. 4, 2 (Hannover, 1969), 131: „§ 14,9. Wenn einer ein anvermähltes Mädchen, das im Hoch-

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zeitszug zum Gatten geführt wird, [wenn} jemand es auf dem Wege anfällt und sich an ihm gewaltsam vergeht gerichtlich »Geleit-Hinderung« –, werde er 8000 Pfennige, die machen 200 Schillinge zu schulden verurteilt. § 15,2. Wenn einer sich an einem freien Mädchen gewaltsam vergeht – gerichtlich »Notzucht« –, werde er 2500 Pfennige, die machen 62 1/2 Schillinge zu schulden verurteilt.“

[28] Eckhardt, ed., *Lex Salica*, § 26,1: „Wenn ein freier Mann einer Frau Finger oder Hand anrührt – gerichtlich »Drücken«, werde er 600 Pfennige, die machen 15 Schillinge zu schulden verurteilt. 2. Wenn er den Arm anrührt – gerichtlich »Drücken« –, werde er 1200 Pfennige, die machen 30 Schillinge zu schulden verurteilt. 3. Wenn er etwa die Hand auf den Ellenbogen legt – gerichtlich »Drücken am Oberarm« – werde er 1400 Pfennige, die machen 35 Schillinge zu schulden verurteilt. 4. Wenn einer einem Weibe die Brust anrührt – gerichtlich »bei der Brust« – werde er 1800 Pfennige, die machen 45 Schillinge zu schulden verurteilt.“

[29] *Lex Salica*, L I, §§ 1, 5, 13–14, 18.

[30] Ebenda, „III 46 § l An fahrendem Weibe und an seiner Friedel kann der Mann Notzucht üben und sein Leben verwirken, wenn er ihr ohne ihre Einwilligung beiliegt.“

[31] *Das Stadtrecht von Goslar*, hrsg. Wilhelm Ebel (Göttingen, 1968), 2. Buch I, 82: „§ 63. [...] Wer jemanden tötet oder verwundet oder beraubt oder einen Brandstifter, insbesondere Mordbrenner, oder, wer eine Frau oder Magd vergewaltigt oder wer den Frieden bricht, dem soll man das Haupt abschlagen. [...]. § 93. Vergewaltigt einer eine Frau oder eine Magd, das soll man auf frischer Tat beschreien oder an dem Ort, wo das Verbrechen geschehen ist. Mit Rufen [soll man] das denjenigen mitteilen, die am nächsten sind, und auch so vor das Gericht nach frischer Tat folgen. Der Anklage der Tat kann man nicht durch einen Eid entgehen, wenn der Friedensbrecher auf frischer Tat ergriffen wird. Entkommt er, so muß er sich selbst mit sechs Helfern von der Anklage reinigen. Verkündet man es nicht, wie es oben beschrieben wurde, so entgeht er der Anklage durch einen Reinigungseid, wenn er unbescholten ist. § 94. Seine Geliebte darf man nicht vergewaltigen.“

derts heißt es in diesem Zusammenhang unter ausdrücklicher Erwähnung der Prostituierten (§ 41):

> Wer wegen einer Vergewaltigung überführt wird, der wird enthauptet. Und in der folgenden Weise wird jemand überführt. Wenn eine Jungfrau oder eine Frau auf dem Land vergewaltigt wird, so benötigen sie einen Zeugen, in der Stadt zwei. Wenn eine Jungfrau oder eine ehrbare Frau ein zerrissenes Gewandt und blutige Wunden trägt und keinen Zeugenbeweis gegen denjenigen, den sie anklagt, besitzt, so kann sich dieser mit zwei Zeugen von der Schuld reinigen. [...] Wenn eine Prostituierte wegen einer Vergewaltigung klagt, und muß sich jemand deswegen verteidigen, so verhelfe ihr der Richter nach Beratschlagung mit den Schöffen zu ihrem Recht.[32]

In Augsburg sah das Stadtrecht keine Strafe für die Vergewaltigung einer Dirne vor.[33] Das Weistum von Cröve an der Untermosel erlaubte einer vergewaltigten Frau sogar die eigenhändige Bestrafung des Notzüchtigers durch Pfählung.[34] Das Weistum von Melrichstädt aus dem Jahr 1523 verpflichtete in einer derartigen Gefahrensituation eine Frau zur „Anschreiung“ ihres Peinigers.[35] Eine Frau, die sich also nicht verbal gegen ihren Peiniger wehrte, konnte diesen später vor dem Gericht der Stadt Melchrichstädt nicht mehr verklagen. Das Stadtrecht von Taiding in der Rauris von 1565 hielt die Vergewaltigung einer Prostituierten im Gegensatz zur Notzucht an einer Bürgersfrau nicht für ein Kapitaldelikt, da sie dadurch – anders als eine „ehrbare“ Frau ihre (bereits verlorene) Ehre durch einen derartigen Übergriff nicht verlieren könne.[36] Über die Anzahl von Vergewaltigungen in mittelalterlichen Städten lassen sich nur sporadische Angaben machen. Allerdings verzeichnen die Gerichtsakten von Dijon zwischen 1436 und 1486 ganze 125 Fälle von Vergewaltigungen, wobei eine Dunkelziffer zwischen 75 und 80 Prozent angenommen wird.[37] Die klageführenden Frauen waren nach Rossiaud zu 60 Prozent unverheiratete Frauen. Die meisten Vergewaltigungsopfer gehörten zu den Unterschichten und waren Dienstmädchen, Frauen oder Töchter von Tagelöhnern und

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[32] *Die Stadtrechte von Brünn aus dem XIII. u. XIV. Jahrhundert, Deutsche Rechtsaltertümer aus Böhmen und Mähren: eine Sammlung von Rechtsbüchern, Urkunden und alten Aufzeichnungen zur Geschichte des deutschen Rechts*, Bd. 2, hrsg. Emil Franz Rössler (Prag, 1852; repr. Aalen, 1963), 357.

[33] Fritz, *Geschichte der Sexualität*, 163.

[34] *Weisthümer*, hrsg. Jacob Grimm (Göttingen, 1840), Bd. 2, p. 381: „Item were es, dass ein mann ein maget oder weiff noitzucht, das da were vber iren willen, vnd das mit clage furprechte also, das die scheffen sehen, das er wol der sachen vberzeuget vnd schuldig were, so soll man einen pal dartzu machen, vnd sulle den man vff den rucke legen, vnd ine den pal vff den bauch setzen, vnd sulle das weib, die also von ime geclaget hat, den pal mit einem schlegel drei stund darauf schlagen, vnd sollen dan die rechten boden vorbass durch schlagen biss in die erde, vund ine darin halten, biss er von dem leben zu dem dode bracht wurd.“

[35] *Weisthümer*, hrsg. Grimm (Göttingen, 1842), Bd. 3, p. 892: „[...] vnnd woe eine genotzucht wurd, so soll sie lauff mit gestraubtem hare vnnd nasser maulzen, irenn schleyer an der hand drag, allermeniglich wer ir begegent vmb hilff anschreyen vber den theter; schweygt sie aber styll, soll sie hinfuro aucnh styll schweygen.“

[36] *Oberösterreichische Weistümer*, Bg. 1, hrsg. Ignaz Nößlböck (Baden, 1939), 225.

[37] Rossiaud, *Dame Venus*, 19.

Arbeitern im Textilgewerbe. Die Vergewaltigungen von Frauen aus Unterschichten hatten geringere Strafen zur Folge, da sie als weniger „ehrbar“ galten. Die Opfer wurden wegen ihrer angeblich „unehrenhaften“ Lebensführung allzu oft diffamiert und ihre Ehre war in den allermeisten Fällen ruiniert, was ihre Chancen auf dem Heiratsmarkt erheblich schmälerte.[38] Es liegt auf der Hand, dass Vergewaltigungsopfer auch leichter den Weg der Prostitution einschlugen. In Avignon wurde schätzungsweise die Hälfte der jungen Dirnen im Alter von etwa 15 bis 17 Jahren mit Gewalt zur Prostitution getrieben, wovon 27 Prozent Vergewaltigungsopfer waren.[39]

Für untreue Ehefrauen sahen die frühmittelalterlichen Stammesrechte ein Bestrafungsrecht des Mannes vor. Nach einer Bestimmung über die Ehescheidung im Gesetzbuch (*leges*) des Königs Gundobads aus der Zeit zwischen 480 und 501 sollten untreue Frauen im Sumpf ertränkt werden (§ 34,1).[40] Dem Mann stand kraft seiner Muntgewalt über die Frau ein Bestrafungsrecht zu, wie aus dem *Edictum Rothari*, der Gesetzessammlung des Langobardenkönigs Rothari, aus dem Jahr 643 hervorgeht (§ 189).[41] Verstieß also eine Frau gegen die engen Grenzen der reglementierten Sexualität, wurde sie von dem Inhaber der Munt oder von königlichen Beamten bestraft oder zwangsverheiratet. Das 654 von dem westgotischen König veröffentlichte *Liber iudiciorum* (Buch der Urteile), auch *Liber iudicum* (Buch der Richter) genannt, bzw. die *Lex Visigothorum*, das Stammesrecht der Westgoten, bestraften den Ehebruch und gewährten dem betrogenen Ehemann das Recht zur Tötung seiner untreuen Ehefrau und ihres Liebhabers (§ III, 4,3).[42] Die Rechtsweisungen des angelsächsischen Königs Aethelberhts aus der Zeit um 600 sahen dagegen als Entschädigung für den Beischlaf mit der Frau eines anderen Mannes neben der Entrichtung des Manngeldes die Überbringung einer anderen Frau vor (§ III, 4,3).[43] Die strenge Reglementierung der weiblichen Sexualität der frühmittelalterlichen *leges* sollte bewaffnete Konflikte verhindern helfen. Frauen, die mit mehreren Männern Sexualkontakte hatten, wurden also bereits im Frühmittelalter marginalisiert und im rechtlichen Sinne diskriminiert. Im Spätmittelalter wurde in einigen Stadtrechten gar Ehebruch als Kapitalverbrechen bestraft. Das Wiener Stadtrecht vom 21. Juli 1340 gestattete dem Ehemann im Falle des Ertappens seiner Frau mit ihrem Liebhaber die sofortige Tötung (§ 73).[44] Ehebruch war aber nicht gleich Ehebruch. Denn das städtische Recht, welches sich sonst vom Gleichheitsgrundsatz leiten ließ, unterschied zwischen männlichen und weiblichen Ehebrechern. So wehrte sich etwa der Hamburger Rat 1335 gegen die Gleichsetzung von männlichem und weiblichem Ehebruch.[45] Die Entrüstung der männlichen Stadträte bezog sich sicherlich auf außereheliche Sexualkontakte in der Hafenstadt. Denn die Kirche setzte seit Gratian (*Decretum Gratiani*, Anfang 12. Jh.) den weiblichen und männlichen Ehebruch unter Berufung auf die Konsensehe gleich. Erst das Bürgerliche Gesetzbuch hob im Jahre 1900 die formelle Unterscheidung des weiblichen und männlichen Ehebruchs auf. Die Anzahl der Sexualpartner einer Frau, die sie in den Augen der mittelalterlichen Gesellschaft als Dirne erscheinen ließen, war jedoch nicht festgelegt, weswegen einige mittelalterliche Autoren abenteuerliche Zahlen bis zu 23000 Männern erfanden.[46] Daher sprechen die spätmittelalterlichen Konstanzer Ratsprotokolle auch von „unendlichen Frauen“, womit Frauen gemeint sind, die wechselnde Kontakte zu verschiedenen Männern mit oder ohne Bezahlung unterhielten.[47] In diesen sah der Konstanzer Rat anders als in den „gemeinen Frauen“ im Frauenhaus eine Gefahr für die öffentliche Moral und erließ daher 1444 eine Hurereisatzung:

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[38] Rossiaud, *Dame Venus*, 39–41.

[39] Rossiaud, *Dame Venus*, 45.

[40] *Gesetze der Burgunden*, Germanenrechte, hrsg. Franz Beyerle, Texte und Übersetzungen 10 (Weimar, 1936), 55: „§ 34,1. Trennt sich ein Weib von seinem rechtmäßigen Mann, so soll man es im Sumpf ertränken.“

[41] *Gesetze der Langobarden*, Germanenrechte, hrsg. Franz Beyerle, Texte und Übersetzungen 2, 3 (Weimar, 1947), 71, 79, 81: „§ 189. lässt sich ein freies Mädchen oder Weib bereitwillig beschlafen, wennschon von einem freien Mann, so sind ihre Verwandten wohlbefugt, sie zu bestrafen. Ist es indessen beiden Teilen recht, dass der Beischläfer sie zur Frau nimmt, so muss er [nur] das Unrecht, Antastung genannt, mit 20 Schillingen büßen. Einigt man sich nicht dahin, dass er sie als seine Frau behält, dann zahlt er 100 Schillinge, halb an den König, halb an den, dem über sie die Munt zusteht. Und zeigen die Verwandten weder Bedacht noch Absicht, an ihr die Strafe zu vollziehen, dann kann sie der königliche Gastalde oder Schultheiß zuhanden des Königs festnehmen und gegen sie erkennen, was den König richtig dünkt.“

[42] *Gesetze der Westgoten*, Germanenrechte, hrsg. Eugen Wohlhaupter, Texte und Übersetzungen, 11 (Weimar, 1936), 77: „§ III, 4,3. Hat jemandes Ehefrau Ehebruch begangen, ohne aber ertappt worden zu sein, so mag sie der Gatte vor dem Richter mit entsprechenden Beweisen und Anzeichen anklagen. Steht der Ehebruch der Frau offenkundig fest, so sollen dem (Gatten) der Ehebrecher und die Ehebrecherin übergeben werden, damit er mit ihnen nach Gutdünken verfahren kann. Tötet der Mann den Ehebrecher mit der Ehebrecherin, so soll er nicht für den Totschlag haften.“

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[43] *Leges Anglo–Saxonum* [601–925], Bibliotheca rerum historicarum. Corpus iuris Europensis, 13, hrsg. Karl August Eckhardt (Göttingen, 1974), 19: „§ 31. Wenn ein freier Mann bei eines freien Mannes Weibe liegt, zahle er sein Manngeld und beschaffe ein anderes Weib mit seinem eigenen Gut und bringe es dem anderen heim.“

[44] *Die Rechte und Freiheiten der Stadt Wien*, 2 Bde., hrsg. Johann Adolf Tomaschek, Geschichtsquellen der Stadt Wien/1. Abt. (Vienna, 1877), hier Bd. 1, 115: „§ 73. Swer an der uberhuer mit aines mannes chonen wirt begriffen, und waz der chonman an derselben stat in paiden tuet, daz sol er nicht puezzen. Tcet aber den man und let daz weip willichlichen leben, so ist er dem richter dreizzig phunt phenning fuer einen totslag ze wandel vervallen. Wirt aber der uberhuerer und daz weip gevangen, so sol der richter gegen in paiden richten mit dem steckhen und totten, als recht ist. Wirt aber ein chonman mit einem ledigen weib begriffen an der uberhuer, den sol der pharrer nach geistleichem recht puezzen.“

[45] *Hamburgische Chroniken in niedersächsischer Sprache*, hrsg. Martin Lappenberg (Hamburg, 1861/Neudruck Niederwalluf, 1971), 377–478, hier 396: „Johan Anno 1335 ist ein großer Auflauf gewesen zwischen den Geistlichen und dem Rat und bevollmächtigten Bürgern, denn die Geistlichen wollten den Ehebruch auf das höchste bestrafen, was ein Ehrbarer Rat nicht zulassen wollte [...].“

[46] Annette Lömker-Schlögell, „Prostituierte – „umb vermeydung willen merers übels in der cristenhait,“ *Randgruppen der spätmittelalterlichen Gesellschaft. Ein Hand- und Studienbuch*, hrsg. Bernd-Ulrich Hergemöller (Warendorf, 2001), 58–89, hier 62.

[47] Schuster, *Die unendlichen Frauen*, 7, 61.

> Ain satz der húrry halber,
>
> Zwüschend Pfingsten und Ostern machet die [...] zu Costentz ain satz, wer uneelich by ain andern säß und ainer offenlich sin ee bräch, deß sy diß bußen an den aid umb 100 lb dn, deß er die selben von im und us den alten gerichten, ouch uss dem huß tete.[48]

Das waren keine leeren Worte, wie der Konstanzer Patrizier Konrad Stickel erfahren musste, der neben seiner Ehefrau eine Freundin unterhielt, mit der er fünf Kinder zeugte und schließlich dafür vom Rat mit dieser hohen Geldstrafe belegt wurde.[49] Eine fahrende Frau klagte im Jahr 1500 gegen ihren Partner vor dem Konstanzer Rat. Sie hätte ihren Ehemann für einen Reisbuben verlassen, mit dem sie nach Italien gezogen und von diesem in einem Wirtshaus als Dirne versetzt worden sei. Nach ihrer gemeinsamen Rückkehr nach Konstanz und nach der Drohung des Landsknechts, sie sitzen zu lassen, hätte sie sodann vergeblich vom Rat verlangt, dass dieser den Söldner dazu zwingen solle, ihr das zu erstatten, was sie zur gemeinsamen Lebensführung beigetragen hätte.[50] Sie begründete dies wie folgt:

> Er hab sy ins elend gefürt, und er welle ir jetz nichts für das verthuon geben. Und der rock, den er jetzt trag, syg ir gewesen und hab ir hie klaider versetzt, und sy welle furbringen, daß er sy verkoufft hab und ir zugesagt hab, sy nimmermehr zu verlassen.[51]

An der Geschichte überrascht zweifelsohne, dass diese Frau offen den Ehebruch eingestand und gar nicht erst den Versuch machte, die Sache vielleicht als Entführung darzustellen. Damit galt sie nach den damaligen Moralvorstellungen zweifelsohne als Dirne. Ihr Geständnis war gefährlich. Denn sie verlor nicht nur ihre Ehre, sondern musste gemäß dem oben zitierten Hurensatz auch 100 Pfund Pfennige Strafe zahlen. Cathérine aus Avignon verließ nach zweijähriger Ehe ihren Mann, einen Flussschiffer, und folgte ihrem Liebhaber, einem Schiffsknecht und Zuhälter, was geradewegs in einem städtischen Bordell endete. Auch eine vornehme Witwe aus der Île-de-France, die eigentlich auf eine Pilgerreise gehen wollte, landete für einige Tage im Frauenhaus von Dijon.[52] Es liegt auf der Hand, dass einer als Ehebrecherin verurteilten Frau, selbst wenn sie nicht hingerichtet wurde, oft nur ein weiteres Leben als Dirne übrig blieb. Trotz strenger Moralvorstellungen, die auf die legitime Ehe setzen, galt nach kirchlichem Recht schon das Eheversprechen als bindend. Die Akten des Augsburger Chorgerichtes für das Jahr 1350 zeigen, dass von 100 Klagen auf Einlösung des Eheversprechens allein 76 von Frauen eingereicht, davon aber nur 15 im Sinne der Klägerinnen entschieden wurden.[53] Eine Frau konnte also „in aller Regel den Kindsvater nicht zur Ehe zwingen, womit der Einstieg in die Prostitution fast unvermeidlich war.

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[48] Stadtarchiv Konstanz, *Schulthaiß, Coll.* A I, 8 I, fol. 153 (1444); in Schuster, *Die unendlichen Frauen*, 76 (mit kleineren Korrekturen und Ergänzungen von Frank Meier).

[49] Schuster, *Die unendlichen Frauen*, 76.

[50] Schuster, *Die unendlichen Frauen*, 13.

[51] Stadtarchiv Konstanz, *Ratsprotokolle* B I/29, fol. 65 (1500); in Schuster, *Die unendlichen Frauen*, 14.

[52] Schuster, *Die unendlichen Frauen*, 45.

Kuppelei, Zuhälterei und Frauenhandel sorgten für regelmäßigen Nachschub an Prostituierten. Bereits Hrothswitha von Gandersheim (geb. um 935–gest. nach 973) erwähnt in ihren Werken neben Huren auch deren Zuhälter.[54] „Die Ordnung der gemeinen Weiber in den Frauenhäusern" der Stadt Nürnberg aus dem 15. Jahrhundert verbietet das *kauffen, verpfenden oder darauf leyhen* von Dirnen.[55] Ein Brünner Schöffenspruch aus derselben Zeit stellt das Verkaufen der eigenen Ehefrau unter Strafe:

> Es ist in der Vollversammlung ein Urteil gefällt worden über den, der es wagt, seine legitime Ehefrau einem anderen zu verkaufen, in folgender Weise: ein solcher Verkäufer soll vierzehn Tage lang als Gefangener im Gefängnis behalten werden und darüber hinaus wird er zwei Pfund für die, die gekauft werden sollte, zahlen. Ebenso wird der Käufer ein Pfund Denar für die, die gekauft werden sollte, zahlen, da er es ja wagt, die rechtmäßige Frau eines anderen zu kaufen. Von diesen Kaufgeldern wird der Richter ein Drittel erhalten, zwei Drittel werden der Stadtgemeinde gehören.[56]

Das Straßburger Stadtrecht von 1322 sah die Tötung von männlichen und die Blendung von weiblichen Bediensteten vor, wenn sie im Haushalt lebende Kinder verkuppelten (§ 177):

> Wenn ein Knecht, eine Dienstjungfrau, Magd oder Kellerin jemanden, dem sie dienen und in dessen Haus und Kost sie sind, dessen Kinder oder die Kinder von dessen Verwandten oder solche Kinder, über die der Mann die Vormundschaft innehat, zur Ehe oder Unzucht wirbt oder anstiftet, sich selbst oder anderen verkuppelt ohne Wissen oder Zustimmung der nächsten Verwandten, die Kinder seien zu ihren Tagen gekommen oder nicht, unternimmt dies ein Knecht, so soll man ihn ertränken, unternimmt es aber eine solche Frau, wie es zuvor aufgeführt ist, so soll

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[53] Ernst Schubert, *Alltag im Mittelalter: Natürliches Lebensumfeld und menschliches Miteinander* (Darmstadt, 2002), 261.

[54] Fritz, *Geschichte der Sexualität*, 160.

[55] *Nürnberger Polizeiordnungen aus dem XIII. bis XV. Jahrhundert*, Bibliothek des literarischen Vereins in Stuttgart, Bd. 63, hrsg. Baader (Stuttgart, 1861), Nr. 18, 117–121, hier 118.

[56] *Die Stadtrechte v. Brünn aus d. XIII. u. XIV. Jh.*, Deutsche Rechtsaltertümer aus Böhmen und Mähren: eine Sammlung von Rechtsbüchern, hrsg. Emil Franz Rössler, Urkunden und alten Aufzeichnungen zur Geschichte des deutschen Rechts, Bd. 2 (Prag, 1852, repr. 1963), 229, Nr. 493 b.: „Qui vendiderit propriam mulierem suam alieno. (ibidem) Sententiatum est in pleno consilio de eo, qui uxorem suam legitimam alteri vendere praesumit, in hunc modum, quod talis vendens in cippo per quatuordecim dies detineatur captivus, et insuper solvet duas libras pro emenda. Item emens solvet unam libram denariorum pro emenda, qui legitimam alterius emere praesumit. De quibus emendis judex tertiam partem habebit, duae vero partes ad civitatem pertinebunt."

> man ihr die Augen ausstechen und soll sie für immer aus Straßburg verbannen, wenn solches Geschehen zur Anklage gebracht und als der Wahrheit entsprechend befunden wird.[57]

In Dijon sind als Zuhälter Strumpfmacher, Schneider, Schuster, Barbiere, Walker, Metzgergehilfen, Bogenschützen und selbst Kleriker belegt.[58] Das einträgliche Geschäft der Zuhälterei betrieben aber auch hohe Herren, so in der Gegend von Arles und Dijon der Stellvertreter des Landvogts von Tarascon, Ferrante von Kastilien, oder der Propst von Dijon, J. de Marnay. Die meisten Kuppler waren jedoch Frauen. So wurden in Dijon von 83 privaten Bordellen ganze 75 von Frauen geführt, wovon 41 verheiratet waren. Viele Ehemänner kamen aus der städtischen Mittelschicht, darunter viele Handwerker, Fuhrleute oder Wirte, die auf den Zuerwerb ihrer Ehefrauen angewiesen waren. Nicht alle Kupplerinnen betrieben auch ein eigenes Bordell, sondern viele vermittelten lediglich arme Frauen oder „gefallene" Mädchen als sogenannte „Schönrednerinnen" an eine zahlungskräftige Kundschaft. Madame Saignant arbeitete als Inhaberin eines Badehaues (étuves de Saint-Philibert) in Dijon 20 Jahre lang als stadtbekannte Kupplerin, die offen mit ihren Prostituierten und deren Künsten prahlte.[59] Während private Zuhälterei und Kuppelei in den normativen Rechten unter strenger Strafe stand, beförderte der mittelalterliche Stadtrat die Prostitution durch die Einrichtung von Frauenhäusern, das Erlassen von Frauenhausordnungen und die Registration von Dirnen.[60] Große Ereignisse wie Konzile oder die Gründung von Universitäten waren mit einer öffentlichen Förderung der Prostitution verbunden. Anlässlich des Basler Konzils (1431–1449) richtete der Rat zwei neue Bordelle in der Spalenvorstadt ein, und auch bei der Gründung der Universität im Jahre 1460 wurden für die Studenten neue Frauenhäuser eröffnet. Selbst die Landsknechte, die für Basel kämpften, erhielten vom Rat entlohnte Dirnen, die neue Schuhe bekamen sowie ein Tuch in den Farben der Stadt.[61] Dagegen verbot eine Straßburger Verordnung von 1500 den Handel mit Prostituierten und die erzwungene Prostitution.[62] In Westheim bei Schwäbisch Hall arbeitete in einer Wirtschaft die sechzehnjährige Salome Schwarz aus Aalen, die von der Wirtin im Haus an einen Bauern verkuppelt wurde, der später vor Gericht behauptete, dass er nicht der erste gewesen sei, der mit dem Mädchen „etwas zu schaffen" gehabt habe. 1535 stand in Dettingen an der Erms Jörg Benning vor Gericht, „weil er jungen Männern und Ehefrauen in seinem Haus

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[57] *Urkundenbuch der Stadt Straßburg, Bd. 4, 2. Stadtrechte und Aufzeichnungen über bischöflich-städtische und bischöfliche Ämter*, hrsg. Aloys Schulte (Strasbourg, 1888), 93.

[58] Rossiaud, *Dame Venus*, 44.

[59] Rossiaud, *Dame Venus*, 42.

[60] Rossiaud, *Dame Venus*, 41.

[61] Rossiaud, *Dame Venus*, 23.

[62] *Straßburger Zunft und Polizei Verordnungen des 14. und 15. Jahrhunderts*, hrsg. Johann Karl Brucker (Strasbourg, 1889), 486.

Gelegenheit zum Ehebruch gegeben habe".[63] Der Basler Rat kritisierte 1417 im Rufbuch die als „riffian" bezeichneten nichtsnutzigen und wohlhabenden Zuhälter, die

> offen verruocht riffian sin wellent, und ligent die stâtes uf armen vorenden töchtern. Und waz die mit iren grossen, sweren, sünden gedeyenent, daz nemment sy inen abe, essent, trinkent und kleident sich daruss köstlich, daz schier nyemand weiss, ob es jungherrn oder welherleye lüte si sint, und tragen sich weidenlicher und cöstlicher denn etliche tuond, die zwey hundert guldin gelts oder me habent. Darumbe so hant rat und meister erkennet und wellent ouch, welhe die sint, die sich sölicher armer töchtern begangent, daz der jeglicher in diesen nechsten vierzehn tagen einen gelwen kugelhuot ane zipfel und daruff drye swarz gross wurfel mit grossen wissen ougen geneyet tragen sol stâtes [...].[64]

Offensichtlich war Zuhälterei schon damals ein sehr einträgliches Geschäft. Die Prostituierten werden dagegen als „arme fahrende Töchter" bezeichnet. Von einer Marginalisierung der Huren kann in Basel keine Rede sein. Hingegen hatten die Stadtväter durchaus Verständnis für Frauen, die in die Fallstricke als kriminell eingestufter Zuhälter gerieten. Auch in Konstanz werden in den Ratsprotokollen des 15. Jahrhunderts wiederholt „riffiane" erwähnt, die als Begleiter der Dirnen auch als Spieler und Betrüger in Erscheinung traten, und nach 1430 als Zeichen für ihre Sesshaftigkeit als „Frauenwirte" begegnen.[65] Nach einem Eintrag im Konstanzer Ratsbuch von 1449 werden der Frauenwirt und seine Frau zu einer Geldstrafe von 515 Pfennigen verdonnert, weil sie gemeinsam eine Frau in das Frauenhaus gezogen haben:

> Item [...] ist der frowenwirt
> und sin hußfrow gestrafft umb dxiiv
> pfund pennig umb das sy ein frowen
> in das frowen hus zogen hat [...][66]

Dirnen waren auch Handelsobjekte. So wurde Margarete Füglinsperg 1479 für drei Gulden vom Luzerner Frauenwirt an seinen Konstanzer Kollegen verkauft. Margarete verschuldete sich schnell wegen Kost und Nahrung sowie neuer Kleider um 10 Gulden. Auch der Luzerner Frauenwirt, bei dem sie in der Kreide stand, forderte sie zurück. Schließlich kam die Sache vor den Konstanzer Rat, der sich an das entsprechende Luzerner Gremium wandte.[67] 1449 bestrafte der Konstanzer Rat den Frauenwirt Hans Schertzinger, weil er eine Frau ins Bordell gezwungen hatte und eine andere als Dirne anzuwerben versuchte.[68] 1505 verklagte eine Frau aus Lindau den Konstanzer Wirt Hans Metzger, da er ihr eine Beschäftigung als Köchin versprochen hatte und sie von den Frauen im Haus mit Schlägen gezwungen wurde, sich als Prostituierte zu verdingen:

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[63] Fritz, *Geschichte der Sexualität*, 161.

[64] *Gesundheitspflege im mittelalterlichen Basel*, von Professor Dr. Karl Baas, Karlsruhe, hrsg. G. A. Wehrli, Zürcher Medizingeschichtliche Abhandlungen, Bd. 7 (Zürich, 1926), 22.

[65] Schuster, *Die unendlichen Frauen*, 41.

[66] Stadtarchiv Konstanz, *Ratsprotokolle*, B I/15, fol. 241 (1497).

[67] Schuster, *Die unendlichen Frauen*, 59.

[68] Schuster, *Die unendlichen Frauen*, 65, 213.

> Ain frow von lindow hat angebracht, es syg der frowenwirt Hanns Metzger gen Bibrach kummen und hab sy gedinget zü ainer kochinen, do hab sy ußgedingt, sy welle nüt arges thuon. Als sy nun herkummen syg, wellt er sy zwingen, das sy thet wie die anderen, das welte sie nit tuon, so schlugen die frowen sy, also wainete sy, [...][69]

Im selben Jahr untersagte der Konstanzer Rat den Kauf und Verkauf von Prostituierten.[70] Strikt verboten war die Beschäftigung von Ehefrauen in den städtischen Frauenhäusern. So bestrafte der Konstanzer Rat 1497 den Frauenhauswirt Heinrich Winter und seine Frau, weil sie eine verheiratete Frau in ihrem Etablissement geduldet hatten.[71] Einem Konstanzer Frauenwirt, der eine junge Prostituierte nach Ulm geschickt hatte, wurde am 22. Januar 1510 vom Rat befohlen, diese bei einer Strafe von 2 Gulden binnen zehn Tagen zurückzuholen.[72]

Aussicht auf Reichtum verlockte durchaus selbst ehrbare Frauen, sich dem horizontalen Gewerbe hinzugeben. Während des Konstanzer Konzils (1414–1418) wird in einer Handschrift des 15. Jahrhunderts ein Honorar für eine Prostituierte von 800 Gulden erwähnt, eine für damalige Verhältnisse unglaublich hohe und damit eher unglaubwürdige Summe.[73] Zum Vergleich: Hohe Herren im Dienst Kaiser Sigismunds wurden mit 500 bis 600 Gulden entlohnt.[74] In einem Gedicht von Eberhardt Windeckes, einem Gelehrten am Hof des Kaisers, heißt es über eine der Folgen des Konstanzer Konzils (1414–1418):

> Nu hat man nuwe mere in dem
> lande vernomen,
> Sit das concilium gon Costenz ist komen,
> die dirnen sind gemelich,
> und sind ouch worden wacker und rich.
> Die swebschen mägde, die sind ein-
> feltig gewesen
> nu hat man also die letzten in wol gelesen,
> daß die die kunste triben recht;
> si kument eben herren und knecht.

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[69] Stadtarchiv Konstanz, *Ratsprotokolle*, B I/23, fol. 477 (1505); in Schuster, *Die unendlichen Frauen*, 65, 213.

[70] Schuster, *Die unendlichen Frauen*, 105.

[71] Schuster, *Die unendlichen Frauen*, 214.

[72] Peter Meisel, *Die Verfassung und Verwaltung der Stadt Konstanz im 16. Jahrhundert*, Konstanzer Geschichts- und Rechtsquellen, Bd. 8 (Konstanz, 1957), 117: „Als dann im verschinen jar ain jungs tochterlin ufsetzlichen in das frowenhus gesetzt ist und aber der frowenwirt das gen Ulm geschickt, hat man im geboten, das er das tochterlin in 10 tagen herbring, so welle mans lesen mit 2 fl.“

[73] Schuster, *Die unendlichen Frauen*, 22.

[74] Dieter Kühn, *Ich Wolkenstein. Eine Biographie* (Frankfurt a. Main, 1980), 155.

Die frömbde sproch hat sich zu uns
gemischet,
etlich hat den iren do erwischet.
Dukaten, nobeln und krone
wollent die swebschen dirnen von den gesten hon.[75]

Sollte Windeckes Recht gehabt haben, hätten sich viele junge Frauen für Geld einer zahlungskräftigen Kundschaft angeboten, also nicht nur Professionelle einschlägiger Etablissements. Auch Oswald von Wolkenstein beklagte die teuren Preise für Liebesdienste in Konstanz zur Zeit des Konzils:

Denk ich an den Bodensee,
tut mir gleich der Beutel weh!
Zahlte dort im Haus „Zur Wide“
Schillinge für Liebesdienste.[76]

Der normale Dirnenlohn betrug dagegen in Konstanz zwischen 3 und 6 Pfennige.[77] Der Theologe Johannes Nider (um 1385–1438) schrieb in seinem Werk *De visionibus et de revelationibus*, dass eine wunderschöne Prostituierte, die auf dem Konstanzer Konzil zu Reichtum gelangt war, als Gespielin des Teufels in Winterthur in Erscheinung trat.[78] Stigmatisierungen von Prostituierten als Hexen dürften durchaus vorgekommen sein. Auch wenn es sich um literarische Quellen handelt, so zeigen sie doch, dass große Ereignisse und berühmte Städte zahlreiche Prostituierte in der Hoffnung auf Gewinn anzogen und wohl auch manches „ehrbare“ Mädchen den finanziellen Verlockungen nicht widerstehen konnte. Beim Konstanzer Konzil (1414–1418) sollen sich ca. 1500 Dirnen in der Stadt aufgehalten haben, beim Basler Konzil (1431) sogar 1800. In Venedig zählte man 1509 ganze 11634 Prostituierte unter 300.000 Einwohnern.[79] Der Konstanzer Stadtschreiber Gebhard Dacher ergänzte seine Abschrift der Richental Chronik um den Vermerk, dass der Chronist Ulrich von Richental (um 1360–1437), der im Auftrag Herzog Rudolfs von Sachsen die Dirnen zählen sollte, bei 700 aufgehört habe.[80]

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[75] *Die historischen Volkslieder der Deutschen vom 13. bis zum 16. Jahrhundert*, gesammelt und erläutert von B. von Liliencron, Bd. 1 (Leipzig, 1865), 264, Nr. 54.

[76] Kühn, *Ich Wolkenstein*, 519.

[77] Schuster, *Die unendlichen Frauen*, 70.

[78] Schuster, *Die unendlichen Frauen*, 24.

[79] Wikipedia: *Prostitution*, https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Prostitution_im_Mittelalter (Zugriff 06.03.2019).

[80] Schuster, *Die unendlichen Frauen*, 29.

2.3 Prostituierte im Frauenhaus

Mittelalterliche Stadträte legalisierten die Prostitution durch die Einrichtung von Bordellen.[81] Bereits der um 1275 entstandene Schwabenspiegel nennt mehrfach „Hurenhäuser“.[82] Während in Hamburg, Augsburg und Zürich seit dem 13. Jahrhundert Frauenhäuser erwähnt werden, findet sich der erste Beleg von Freudenhäusern in Wien in einem Freiheitsbrief von Herzog Albrecht III. erst gegen Ende des 14. Jahrhunderts. Darin hatten einige Ratsherren eine wohltätige Stiftung für Dirnen ins Leben gerufen, die dem sündigen Leben entsagen und „in ain puzzendes leben“ wechseln wollten. Um 1395 sind zwei Bordelle vor dem Widmertor und eines in der Nähe des Tiefen Grabens belegt.[83]

Der Konstanzer Rat hatte mit der Einrichtung des Frauenhauses vor allem die Handwerksgesellen im Blick, die sich in großer Zahl als Besucher zwischen 1376 und 1521 nachweisen lassen. Als Kunden traten ein Badstubenknecht, zwei Metzger, ein „armer“ Knecht, zwei Kramer, ein Zimmermannsgeselle, ein Bader, ein Fahrender, ein Stadtbote, ein Geistlicher, ein Weinbauer, ein Steinmetz, ein Fischer, zwei Schmiedegesellen, ein Binder, ein Schneider, ein Knecht, ein Lehrjunge, ein Bäckergeselle, ein Schuhmacher, ein Spitalsknecht, ein Tischler und ein Schlosser auf.[84]

Mit der Verabschiedung von Frauenhausordnungen – 1470 in Nürnberg, 1472 in Nördlingen, 1500 in Straßburg[85] – wurden die Prostituierten als Berufsstand anerkannt und der kommunalen Aufsicht unterstellt, die durch den Frauenwirt, in der Regel ein Beisasse, also ein Auswärtiger, wahrgenommen wurde. Diese Ordnungen sollten die Dirnen schützen, aber auch verhindern, dass Ehefrauen im Bordell anschafften. In der Konstanzer Frauenhausordnung von 1507 wurden den Dirnen umfangreiche Rechte zugestanden, so die Möglichkeit der Herauslösung durch Verwandte oder andere ehrbare Personen, der Verzicht auf Arbeit im Falle von Kinderreichtum oder Krankheit, die Gewährung von Freizeit an Sonn- und Feiertagen durch erzwungene Schließung der Einrichtung, die Verabreichung von zweimaligen warmen, unentgeltlichen Speisen pro Tag mit Käse, Äpfeln und Birnen oder anderem Obst je nach Jahreszeit für 4 Pfennige sowie einer Weinmahlzeit mit zwei warmen Gerichten für 6 Pfennige und den Selbstbehalt von zwei Dritteln des Freierlohns. Der Frauenwirt sollte der Stadt 12 Gulden im Jahr geben, an jedem Fronfasttag 3 Gulden, und das Haus in einem guten Zustand halten.[86] Die Fürsorge des Basler Rates zeigte sich ebenfalls in einer Vorschrift von 1480 für den Frauenwirt, wie er sich verhalten sollte, wenn eine Dirne aus dem Frauenhaus davonlief und ihr von ehrbaren Leuten geholfen würde „oder sust in willen fromm zu werden" die Absicht hätte, und eine weitere Basler Ratsverordnung von 1497 bestimmte, „den frowenwirten zu sagen, dass sie die armen dyrnen hiefuro am Sonntag und helgen Tagen lassen zu kirchen, beerdigungen und messe lösen und zimlicher erlicher kleidung sich gebruchen."[87] Der Konstanzer Rat verbot nach 1436 bei einer Geldbuße die Beschäftigung von Prostituierten an „unserer lieben Frauenabend", an Samstagen und an den Vigilien.[88] Aus einer Konstanzer Quelle aus dem Anfang des 16. Jahrhunderts geht hervor, dass der Beischlaf im Frauenhaus besteuert war, woran der Rat kräftig mitverdiente.[89]

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[81] Edith Ennen, *Frauen im Mittelalte*r (München, 1991), 145; Franz Irsigler und Klaus Arnold, *Bettler und Gaukler Dirnen und Henker* (München, 1996), 179; Regina Schulte, *Sperrbezirke* (Hamburg, 1994), 14.

[82] Fritz, *Geschichte der Sexualität*, 160.

[83] Werner Sabitzer, „Geschichte der Prostitution in Wien,“ *Öffentliche Sicherheit* 11/12 (2000): o. P., https://www.bmi.gv.at/magazinfiles/2000/11_12/files/geschichte%20der%20prostitution.pdf (Zugriff 27.05.2025).

[84] Schuster, *Die unendlichen Frauen*, 222.

[85] Schuster, *Die unendlichen Frauen*, 106.

Die detaillierten Frauenhausordnungen konnten die Dirnen nicht schützen. Der Konstanzer Rat bestrafte 1443 den Frauenwirt Hans von Mainz und seine Frau wegen der Misshandlung einer Dirne.[90] In den Jahren 1466, 1475 und 1520 wurde in Konstanz erneut wegen Verletzung einer Dirne im Frauenhaus verhandelt.[91] Als 1468 ein „armes Dirnlein" im Basler Frauenhaus ermordet wurde, verurteilte der Rat den Wirt zum Rädern und die Wirtin zum Lebendig begraben.[92] In Nördlingen war 1470 die Prostituierte Els von Eichstätt schwanger geworden. Nach heftigen Vorwürfen hatte ihr die Frau des Bordellpächters einen Kräutertrank bereitet, der schließlich eine Fehl- oder Totgeburt einleitete. Das Gerücht vom Kindsmord im Nördlinger Bordell machte die Runde, bis sich der Rat gezwungen sah, den Betrieb zu überprüfen.[93] Auch das ausführliche Verhör der Anna von Ulm zeigt, wie es einer Prostituierten im Nördlinger Frauenhaus erging. Vor dem Rat gab Anna an, dass sie dem Frauenwirt 23 Gulden schulde und daher mit Schlägen mit dem „farren zagel“ (Ochsenziemer) gezwungen wurde, auch zu „unziemlichen zeyten“ oder wenn sie ihre „fraulichen krankhait“ (Menstruation) habe, Kunden zu bedienen. Man gebe ihr auch oft wenig oder schlechtes Essen. Kleidung würde der Frauenwirt zu überhöhten Preisen verkaufen. Auch müsse sie für die Wirtin spinnen. Der Kirchgang wäre ihr auch verboten gewesen. Würden „gute Gesellen“ höhere Preise bezahlen, müsse sie dieses an den Frauenwirt abliefern. Sie hätte der Wirtin etliche Hemden ausgeliehen, die diese an Juden versetzt habe. Daher hätte sie auch kein Unterhemd an, und die Wirtin wolle ihr auch keines geben, sodass sie nicht unter „ehrbare Leute“ gehen konnte.[94]

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[86] Meisel, *Die Verfassung*, 147.

[87] *Gesundheitspflege im mittelalterlichen Basel*, 22.

[88] Otto Feger, *Vom Richtebrief zum roten Buch. Die älteste Konstanzer Ratsgesetzgebung*, Konstanzer Geschichts- und Rechtsquellen, Bd. VII. (Konstanz, 1955), 173: „Von der frowenwirt wegen. Ain raut haut gesetzt, also welher frowenwirt in sinem hus jemant an unser lieben frowen abend, als dik der in jar komet, frowen und man by ainander ligen lauset und das kuntlich wider, als dik sol er von ye zwain personen, die also ainander begriffen werdent, 5 lb. d. in den spital am Merkstatt unlaeßlich zuo bezalent zu buoß vervallen sin. Desglichen am samstag und allen andern vigilen zuo nacht 1 lb. d. och als dik das beschicht."

[89] Meisel, *Die Verfassung*, 148: „Der nuwen frowen wirtin ordnung des fryen hus halben. Item die frowen wirtin so alle jar 8 gulden geben, namlich all fronvasten 2 gulden, und sol die stat die zins vom hus geben, und sol die wirtin von aimer frowen vom man 1 d und ainem schlaf, dz wenn sy selbander ligt, nemen 2 d."

[90] Schuster, *Die unendlichen Frauen*, 212.

[91] Schuster, *Die unendlichen Frauen*, 220.

[92] *Gesundheitspflege im mittelalterlichen Basel*, 23.

[93] Jamie Page, „Inside the Medieval Brothel," *History Today* 69/3 (June 2019), https://www.historytoday.com/archive/feature/inside-medieval-brothel (Zugriff 03.02.2023).

https://www.augsburger-allgemeine.de/noerdlingen/Das-Leben-der-Wanderhure-aus-alten-Akten-rekonstruiert-id19046761.html (Zugriff 05.03.2019).

Die Mehrzahl der Huren in Avignon waren keine herumziehenden Frauen, sondern Töchter von heimischen Tagelöhnern und Handwerkern, Gesellen und selbst Handwerksmeistern, von denen etwa zwei Drittel mit 17, das andere Drittel bereits vor dem 15. Lebensjahr mit diesem Gewerbe begann.[95] „Heimliche Mädchen“ waren in Dijon etwa 17 Jahre alt, „Bedienerinnen“ in den Badhäusern um die 20 und Huren im Frauenhaus ca. 28 Jahre.[96] Die Nachnamen von Prostituierten, z. B.: Els von Eichtstätt oder Anna von Ulm, zeigten an, woher sie kamen. Die Dirnen des Rhône-Tales etwa stammten aus Flandern, dem Artois, der Picardie, dem Hennegau oder dem Barrois.[97] Letztendlich ging es auch um den Schutz junger, unverheirateter Mädchen, alleingelassener Ehefrauen und Witwen, die Opfer sexueller Gewalt werden konnten. Der Status der Ehe schützte die meisten Frauen, denn ein langes Single-Dasein ließ viele Männer an deren Ehre zweifeln. So wurden in Dijon den Gerichtsakten nach nur sieben Frauen von Handwerksmeistern vergewaltigt.[98]

Trotz der genannten Probleme waren Dirnen im Frauenhaus sicherer als auf der Straße. Zum Schutz der Frauen trug auch deren Kleidung bei, die sie als städtische Prostituierte auswies. Die Kleidung sollte in Basel derart beschaffen sein, „daz alle dirnen mentel tragent sollen, die nit länger syen denn einen Spann lang unterhalb dem gürtel“, damit man sie von den ehrbaren Frauen unterscheiden könne. Welche aber einen „lengeren mantel trüge, sollen die stattknecht inen denselben abziehen und nehmen.“[99] In Wien sollten die Dirnen ein gelbes Tuch an der Achsel tragen, in Augsburg einen Schleier mit einem grünen Strich in der Mitte, in Frankfurt am Main einen gelben Saum und in Zürich sowie in Bern ein rotes Käppeli. Da es „ehrbaren“ Frauen untersagt war sich „herauszuputzen“, hießen Prostituierte auch „Hübschlerinnen“.[100]

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[94] Peter Schuster, *Das Frauenhaus. Städtische Bordelle in Deutschland (1350–1600)* (Paderborn, 1992), 11.

[95] Schuster, *Das Frauenhaus*, 45.

[96] Schuster, *Das Frauenhaus*, 46.

[97] Rossiaud, *Dame Venus*, 46.

[98] Rossiaud, *Dame Venus*, 40.

[99] *Gesundheitspflege im mittelalterlichen Basel.*

[100] Wikipedia, *Prostitution*, https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Prostitution_im_Mittelalter (Zugriff 05.03.2019).

Die Stigmatisierung durch Kleidung war aber in der mittelalterlichen Gesellschaft durchaus üblich und galt für Stände wie oft auch für Berufe gleichermaßen. Aus dieser Tatsache kann also nicht auf einen Außenseiterstatus von Prostituierten geschlossen werden – im Gegenteil – waren doch städtische Prostituierte gerade durch ihre besondere Tracht besser vor Überfällen geschützt, da diese sie als Schutzbefohlene des Rates auswies. Dessen ungeachtet kommt František Graus zu dem Schluss, dass seit dem 14. Jahrhundert durch eine Zunahme von Verordnungen die Marginalisierung und Stigmatisierung der städtischen Prostituierten zunahm und sich deren Integrationsmöglichkeiten verringerten.[101] Dem hält Beate Schuster entgegen, dass der Konstanzer Rat sogar 1428 in Erwägung zog, den städtischen Dirnen ein Zeugnisrecht zuzugestehen, ein Privileg, welches nicht einmal ehrbare Bürgerinnen besaßen.[102] In den Quellen der Bodenseestadt werden die Prostituierten als „fahrende" oder „arme Fräulein" bezeichnet – eine Bezeichnung also, die sonst nur adligen, unverheirateten Damen zukam (freilich ohne den Zusatz „fahrend" oder „arm").[103] Auch listen die Bettelverbote von 1385 und 1388 die Dirnen in einer Reihe mit öffentlichen Bediensteten auf, ein weiteres Indiz für deren öffentliche Stellung.[104]

Ein Ausstieg aus der Prostitution war im Mittelalter grundsätzlich möglich, gelang aber nur wenigen. Entweder sie fanden eine Anstellung als Dienerin oder sie traten in die Gemeinschaft der Reuerinnen ein, was in Avignon aber nur „hübschen" Frauen über 25 erlaubt wurde.[105] Das um 1140 entstandene *Decretum Gratiani* gestattete dies nur unter der Bedingung ihrer Verheiratung, wenn ein Mann nachweisen konnte, die Hure wieder auf einen rechten Weg zu führen.[106] Aber welcher Mann wollte schon eine Frau mit einem „liederlichen Ruf"? Da nützte es wohl auch nicht viel, wenn mitunter Stadträte durch die Gewährung einer Mitgift ehemalige Dirnen in den „ehrbaren" Ehestand vermitteln wollten.[107] Auf diese waren die Prostituierten angewiesen, da der Dirnenlohn in der Regel nur wenige Pfennige betrug, damit dieser auch für Gesellen, Lehrlinge oder Studenten erschwinglich war.[108] In Konstanz ließ der Rat in seiner Frauenhausordnung von 1507 eine Auslösung einer Dirne durch die Verwandten oder andere „ehrbare" Personen nach seinem Ermessen zu.[109] Peter Schuster hat sich in einem Aufsatz mit verschiedenen „Integrationshilfen für reumütige Prostituierte im Mittelalter“ auseinander-gesetzt, auf die hier nicht näher eingegangen werden kann.[110]

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[101] Graus, "Randgruppen," 524.

[102] Schuster, *Die unendlichen Frauen*, 35.

[103] Schuster, *Die unendlichen Frauen*, 36.

[104] Schuster, *Die unendlichen Frauen*, 37.

[105] Rossiaud, *Dame Venus*, 48.

[106] Fritz, *Geschichte der Sexualität*, 163.

[107] Rossiaud, *Dame Venus*, 49.

[108] Gustav Schönfeld, *Beiträge zur Geschichte des Pauperismus und der Prostitution in Hamburg*, Sozialgeschichtliche Forschungen 2 (Weimar, 1897) 80.

[109] Meisel, *Die Verfassung*, 117: „4) Item welliche frow zu den ee kumen oder sunst büssen und in disem stand nit mer sin wellt, oder ob ir vater, muter, bruder oder ander fründ und erber parsonen komen, die sy herus lösen und in ain ersamen leben setzen welten, das sol er allwegen inen gestattnen, doch sol die ußlosung sin nach ains rats erkantnuß."

Hin und wieder berichten die Konstanzer Quellen von weggelaufenen Dirnen oder Entführungen. Eine Konstanzer Prostituierte, die in die Augustinerkirche gerannt war, wurde vom Frauenhauswirt mit Gewalt zurückgebracht. Andere hatten mehr Glück, da sie mittels Fluchthelfern entkommen konnten, wie die von Frauenhauswirten vor dem Konstanzer Rat angestrengten Prozesse auf Schadensersatz 1457, 1470 und 1473 vermuten lassen. Vier Prostituierten gelang 1507 in Konstanz anlässlich eines von Knechten wohl absichtlich angezettelten Streites die Flucht. Fünf Jahre zuvor hatten ebenfalls Gesellen mehrere Dirnen zum Tanz auf die Straße entführt.[111] Prostituierte konnten also mittels der Hilfe von Männern durchaus aus dem Frauenhaus – wenn auch wohl nur zeitweilig – entkommen, wenn es ihnen gelang, Freier auf ihre Seite zu ziehen.

Dass trotz aller Bemühungen des Konstanzer Rats, die Prostituierten zu schützen, Übergriffe auf einige Dirnen nicht ausblieben, passt zu den unsicheren Verhältnissen in einer mittelalterlichen Stadt. So schnitten aufgebrachte Bürger in Konstanz einer Dirne 1429 die Haare ab, andere entwendeten ihre Kleider oder beleidigten Prostituierte.[112] Übergriffe auf Dirnen und Beleidigungen von Prostituierten wurden aber als eine Verletzung des städtischen Friedens geahndet, da in Konstanz, wie in anderen Städten auch, Dirnen als „öffentliche Frauen“ galten. Daher mussten Täter auch einen Teil der Geldbuße an die Stadt abführen. Das kam wohl öfters vor. So ist in Straßburg 1332 die Bezeichnung „Hurensohn“ („ir surtigen hurrensüne“) als Schimpfwort belegt.[113] Und in Magdeburg beklagte sich Margarete Dannenfeldes, eine Magd des Bürgers Claus Synder, am 14. Juli 1495 beim Rat von Zerbst, dass die Frau von Marcus Emmen und Hudenhagen sie mit vielerlei Worten wie „unnütze und boshafte Hure“ („unnutte und boszlich hure“) sowie „diebische Hure“ („horre defynne“) angegriffen und weiterhin vor dem Richter verklagt habe und „sie wider Gott und allem Recht gefangen gesetzt“ wurde und sie „zum großen Hohn und Schmach ihren guten Ruf geschmäht hat, was von ihr und ihren Verwandten nicht geduldet werden kann“ („und widder god unde alle recht vencklich ghesettet my to groten hon unde smaheyth myn gude geruchte besmyttet my unde mynen frunden unlydelick“). Daher bitte sie, ihren Widerpart vor das Gericht zu laden, um ihr „für solchen großen Frevel und Gewalttat Genugtuung zu verschaffen oder mir einen Tag zu nennen und Geleit zu geben, sodass ich persönlich kommen und meine Beschuldigung vor Euch gegen jene vorbringen kann und darauf soll entschieden werden, was Rechtens ist, geschieht dies nicht, muss ich dieses dann meinen Brüdern klagen, um mein Recht gegen jene zu erhalten" („so bidde gy, de sulffte myne widerparth vor jw vorbotschoppen, sy antoholdene, my vor sodan groten homodt unde gewalt genuch to donde effte my eynen dach vorschryven unde geleyde gheven, dath ik personlich dar moge kamen unde myne schult vor jw jegen sy to vortellende unde dar up, wes recht is, to erkennende, is des nicht, moth ik ensodansz mynen brodern klagen, myn recht jegen sy to bekommende").[114]

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[110] Peter Schuster, „Sünde und Vergebung. Integrationshilfen für reumütige Prostituierte im Mittelalter,“ *Zeitschrift für Historische Forschung* 21/2 (1994): 145–170.

[111] Schuster, *Die unendlichen Frauen*, 60–63.

[112] Schuster, *Die unendlichen Frauen*, 35.

[113] *Urkundenbuch der Stadt Straßburg*, hrsg. Hans Witte und Georg Wolfram, Bd. 5 (Strasbourg, 1896), Nr. 1, p. 5.

Trotz aller Bemühungen städtischer Gremien um den Schutz der Prostitution und um das öffentliche Ansehen der städtischen Dirnen konnten sie an der Einstellung der „ehrbaren" Bürger zum horizontalen Gewerbe nichts ändern.

3 Vom geschützten zum verfolgten Gewerbe

Als Prostituierte wurden im Mittelalter neben den erwerbsmäßigen Huren in städtischen Frauenhäusern grundsätzlich alle Frauen angesehen, die Ehebruch begangen oder mit mehreren Männern für oder ohne Entlohnung sexuelle Kontakte unterhielten. Hinzu kamen die Haushälterinnen der Pfarrer, die nach Einzug der Reformation begründet oder unbegründet in den Verdacht gerieten, Dirnen zu sein. Während der Rat die öffentliche Prostitution unter ausdrücklicher Berufung auf Augustinus nicht nur duldete, sondern durch die Einrichtung von eigenen Bordellen förderte, stellte er die nichtöffentliche Prostitution unter Strafe. Fahrende Zuhälter, die zum Teil zu sesshaften Frauenhauswirten wurden, standen unter misstrauischer Beobachtung des Rates, während man in den dort beschäftigten Dirnen eher „arme, fahrende Töchter" sah und durchaus Verständnis für ihre soziale Situation aufbrachte.

Die Einrichtung von öffentlichen Bordellen und der Erlass von Frauenhausordnungen zeigen, dass im Mittelalter Prostituierte nicht zwingend Außenseiter waren und auch nicht per se zu den Randgruppen gezählt werden können. František Graus räumt zwar ein, dass die Prostitution als ein wenig ehrbares Gewerbe angesehen wurde, aber die Dirnen dennoch vor dem 14. Jahrhundert nicht zu den Randständigen gerechnet werden können.[115] Die fehlende Ehrbarkeit des Gewerbes schloss eine Aufnahme der Prostituierten in eine Zunft aus. Huren, die allzu offensiv für ihre Künste warben, liefen Gefahr, beim Rat verleumdet zu werden. So beschwerten sich etwa in Heidelberg 1494 viele Bürger über die „Anmache" durch Prostituierte.[116] Das aktive Suchen nach Freiern passte nicht in das Bild der „armen, fahrenden Tochter".

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[114] *Urkundenbuch der Stadt Magdeburg*, Geschichtsquellen der Provinz Sachsen und angrenzender Gebiete/26–28, Bd. 3, hrsg. Gustav Hertel (Halle an der Saale, 1896), 571, Nr. 945: „Minen fruntlichen gruth thovorn. Ersamen leven hern. Ik klagewisz jw to vorstande vorbrenge, wodane wisz Marcus Emmen syne frouwe unde Hudenhagen myt mannigerleyen worden synt angefallen unnutte und boszlich hure unde horre defynne to nennende unde vorth myt dem richter angefangen und widder god unde alle recht vencklich ghesettet my to groten hon unde smaheyth myn gude geruchte besmyttet my unde mynen frunden unlydelick; wodeme alle, so id nu eyn gesette is all umne here, dat men sodanne sake irst vor den hern, dar de schuldener under sitten, vorhoren schall, so bidde gy, de sulffte myne widerparth vor jw vorbotschoppen, sy antoholdene, my vor sodan groten homodt unde gewalt genuch to donde effte my eynen dach vorschryven unde geleyde gheven, dath ik personlich dar moge kamen unde myne schult vor jw jegen sy to vortellende unde dar up, wes recht is, to erkennende, is des nicht, moth ik ensodansz mynen brodern klagen, myn recht jegen sy to bekommende, des jw schryfftlike antwerde myth dussen jegenwerdigen, wile ik will sodanen homoth nicht umrue susz geladen hebben, des weseth wissze, darmede gade bevolen. Hastich ut Magedeburg am dingesbach na Margarete XC qunito. Margarete Dannenfeldes, Claus Synders mageth."

Die Marginalisierung der Prostituierten hing mit einem Frauenbild zusammen, wonach eine „ehrbare" Frau verheiratet bzw. Witwe oder Nonne sein musste. Die fehlende Ehrbarkeit der Dirnen in den Augen der Bevölkerung führte ebenfalls dazu, dass Beleidigungen öfter vorkamen. Nach dem Augsburger Stadtrecht von 1527 bleibt sogar die Vergewaltigung einer Prostituierten straffreit.[117] Die Stigmatisierung durch Kleidung, die eigentlich die Prostituierten als öffentliche Frauen schützen sollte, dürfte ebenfalls zu ihrer Verachtung beigetragen haben. Auf der anderen Seite zeigt die besondere Achtung von Prostituierten noch lange Zeit ihre Rolle als Fruchtbarkeitsbringerinnen und ihre damit verbundene Teilnahme an öffentlichen Festen.[118] Für den Kaiser Sigismund in Wien im Jahr 1435 stattete man städtische Huren mit einer Empfangskleidung aus Samt aus. König Ladislaus Postumus erhielt 1452 bei seiner Ankunft in der Donaustadt eine Abordnung von „Hübschlerinnen".[119] Mitte des 15. Jahrhunderts sah sich dagegen ein Herzog, der sich in Augsburg mit Prostituierten vergnügte, mit einem Sturm öffentlicher Entrüstung konfrontiert.[120]

Als indes im Jahr 2010 junge Prostituierte zu den Festen des italienischen Präsidenten Berlusconis, auch Bunga – Bunga – Parties genannt, eingeladen wurden, löste das einen öffentlichen Skandal aus.[121] Wie erklärt sich der veränderte Umgang mit Prostituierten? Die in vielen spätmittelalterlichen Städten an die Macht gelangten Zünfte betonten die Ehrbarkeit der Frauen ihrer Mitglieder.[122] Die Bordelle wurden vor allem wegen ihrer Kontakte zu Kriminellen in der mittelalterlichen Stadt überwacht und ihr Betrieb beschränkt. Dies hatte nach František Graus eine „volle Stigmatisierung der Dirnen“ zur Folge.[123] Die obrigkeitliche Reglementierung der spätmittelalterlichen Gesellschaft war jedoch ein allgemeines Phänomen und diente auch der Sicherung des Sozialprestiges in einer vielschichtiger gewordenen städtischen Gesellschaft.[124] Die einzelnen Außenseiter wurden zu echten Randgruppen zusammengefasst.[125] Im Zuge der Reformation verschärften sich in Europa die Moralvorstellungen weiter. So erließ der Konstanzer Rat 1509 eine neue Eheordnung, um uneheliche Partnerschaften zu untersagen, nachdem er bereits ein Jahr zuvor neben dem Pranger am Obermarkt einen Strafkäfig für Sittlichkeitsdelikte aufgestellt hatte.[126] Eine Frau, die in unehelichen Verhältnissen lebte, konnte in Konstanz auch in den Ziegelgraben, also in einen Teil der Vorstadt, verwiesen werden, wie ein Fall von 1508 zeigt.[127] Dabei ging es dem Rat um die Absonderung dieser Frauen von den „ehrbaren“ Bürgerinnen. Als Folge der Reformation wurde in Konstanz 1520 eine Sittenzucht verabschiedet, die zwar Ehebruch, Prostitution und Kuppelei unter Strafe stellte, jedoch nicht zur Schließung des städtischen Bordells führte.[128]

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[115] Graus, "Randgruppen," 324.

[116] Schuster, *Die unendlichen Frauen*, 163.

[117] Fritz, *Geschichte der Sexualität*, 163.

[118] Eduard Stemplinger, *Antiker Aberglaube in modernen Ausstrahlungen* (Leipzig, 1922), 44.

[119] Werner Sabitzer, „Geschichte der Prostitution".

[120] Fritz, *Geschichte der Sexualität*, 163.

[121] Siehe https://www.merkur.de/politik/professionelle-prostituierte-berlusconis-festen-zr-1515003.html (Zugriff 05.03.2019); https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bunga_Bunga (Zugriff 05.03.2019).

[122] Richard Koebner, „Die Eheauffassung des ausgehenden deutschen Mittelalters," *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte* (1911), 136–198, 279–318; Rudolf Wissert, *Des alten Handwerks Recht und Gewohnheit*, Einzelveröffentlichungen der Historischen Kommission zu Berlin 7, 2. Auflage, besorgt von Ernst Schraepler, (Berlin, 1971), 254; Frank Göttmann, *Handwerk und Bündnispolitik. Die Handwerkerbünde am Mittelrhein vom 14. bis zum 17. Jahrhundert*, Frankfurter Historische Abhandlungen 15 (Wiesbaden, 1977), 147, 151.

Nach einer Predigt des Reformators Ambrosius Blarer in der St. Stephanskirche gegen die Prostitution schloss der Rat am 26. Februar 1526 schließlich das Frauenhaus.[129] Ehebruch sollte nach einer Konstanzer „Ordnung der ußtriber der frömbden lüt“ vor dem Rat angezeigt werden, um eine Versöhnung der Eheleute zu ermöglichen.[130] Am 26. März 1527 verabschiedete der Konstanzer Rat eine „Ordnung der hurerey und offner kebssitzung,“[131] um „den unverschampten laster des eebruchs und offner hurery“ entgegenzutreten. Neben der Verpflichtung auf die eheliche Treue sollten die ledigen Männer und Frauen „ire concubinen oder unehlichen byligeren hiezwüschen und nächstem sanct Jörgen tag, das der 23. Tag des monats aprilis sin würt, von inen tuon und verlassen, und dergleichen kaine mer annemmen noch zu hus setzen.“[132]

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[123] Graus, „Randgruppen,“ 323.

[124] Graus, „Randgruppen,“ 321.

[125] Graus, „Randgruppen,“ 347.

[126] Schuster, *Die unendlichen Frauen*, 96.

[127] Schuster, *Die unendlichen Frauen*, 113.

[128] Schuster, *Die unendlichen Frauen*, 116.

[129] Meisel, *Die Verfassungt*, 117.

[130] *Die Statutensammlung des Stadtschreibers Jörg Vögeli*, hrsg. Otto Feger, Konstanter Stadtrechtsquellen, Bd. 4 (Konstanz, 1951), 38: „§ 3 Desglich söllend sy der elüten halb, die von ander ursach wegen dann des eebruchs oder on wissen und willen des rats von ain andern sind, mit vlyß handlen, das ys zu sammen kummint und eliche bywonung ainandern tuen. An welhem sy aber den mangel, abgang oder schuld findent, das söllend sy dem rat fürhalten, der sol dann wyter drum handlen, damit das schuldig gestraft oder für die statt geschriben wird.“

[131] Von Kebse für Liebhaberin.

[132] *Die Statutensammlung des Stadtschreibers Jörg Vögeli*, 41.

Der Konstanzer Rat untersagte den außerehelichen Geschlechtsverkehr sowie das gemeinsame Übernachten nicht verheirateter Paare in Wirts- und Privathäusern, wie ein Urteil vom 27. Januar 1527 zeigt.[133] Dieses Hurereiverbot wurde 1531 in Konstanz durch eine neue Zuchtordnung ersetzt, mit der der Rat ebenso wie mit der Einführung eines Sittengerichtes das Zusammenleben der Bürger und Einwohner regeln wollte.[134] Die Konstanzer Zuchtordnung von 1531 orientiert sich an den Ideen des Schweizer Reformators Huldrych Zwingli.[135] Der Rat wurde damit zum Wächter über Glaubens- und Sittenfragen.[136] Die Ordnung belegte Kuppelei mit öffentlicher Schande und setzte auf Unzucht mit Abhängigen, Dienstknechten und Mägden Geld- und Turmstrafen aus. Falls aus einer außerehelichen Verbindung ein Kind hervorging, hatte der Kindsvater dieses bei sich aufzunehmen und die Mutter für das Kindbett mit ganzen 4 Gulden zu entschädigen sowie als Kranzgeld für eine möglicherweise freiwillig aufgeopferte Unschuld ein Paar Schuhe zu bezahlen. Beide Partner wurden zudem bestraft.[137] Der Rat belegte den Ehebruch mit einer Gefängnisstrafe von 4 Tagen und Nächten, die sich im Rückfall erhöhte. Ehebrechern drohte zudem der Verlust aller städtischen Ämter, die Rats- und Gerichtsfähigkeit und das Verbot, an öffentlichen Festlichkeiten teilzunehmen, solange es zu keiner Versöhnung der Ehepartner vor Kirche und Rat kam. Auf Notzucht und mehrfachem Ehebruch stand die Todesstrafe.[138] Ferner schritt der Rat nach einem Zusatz zur Zuchtordnung vom 11. Mai 1538 gegen die „wilden Dirnen“ und gegen die Konkubinen ein und bestimmte, die Wächter alle „gemeinen Metzen“, die sie nachts antrafen, zu verhaften und in das Gefängnis zu führen, damit diese am nächsten Tag der Stadt verwiesen werden konnten.[139] Die Gesetzessammlung des Konstanzer Stadtschreibers Jörg Vögeli verfügte in der Besoldungs-, Bußen- und Gebührenordnung für die vier Ratsknechte etwa das Anzeigen von einheimischen wie fremden Liebhabern („bulen“) sowie am 10. Oktober 1545 von „unehrbaren Weibern“ („unerbere wiber“).[140]

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[133] Meisel, *Die Verfassung*, 117: „Als Mundi Appetegker und sin husfrow, Matheus Ungers tochter, ain ander kain bywonung tund und er mit huren und sy mit buben sich gmain machent,und des ain häfeli, des ander krügli, wie ain gemain sprichwort ist, brechent und kain scham in solhem offnen huren und buben leben habent: ist uf hüt inen gesagt, das sy mitsampt irem kind in 8 tagen für die statt keren und nit mer hätin kumen sollen, man schick dann nach inen. Obs aber über den hetin kennen, wird man gegen inen handlen, das inen zu swär wirt. Sy habent die statt nit versworn.“

[134] Schuster, *Die unendlichen Frauen*, 130.

[135] Zur Konstanzer Zuchtordnung von 1531 vgl. Wolfgang Dobras, *Ratsregiment, Sittenpolizei und Kirchenzucht in der Reichsstadt Konstanz 1531–1548. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der oberdeutsch-schweizerischen Reformation*, Quellen und Forschungen zur Reformationsgeschichte 59 (Gütersloh, 1993), 165–374.

[136] *Die Statutensammlung des Stadtschreibers Jörg Vögeli*, 52.

[137] Meisel, *Die Verfassung*, 118, Anm. 24.

[138] Meisel, *Die Verfassung*, 118.

[139] Meisel, *Die Verfassung*, 117.

[140] *Die Statutensammlung des Stadtschreibers Jörg Vögeli*, 22: „§ 3) Item wo sy elüt wissent, es sygen frowen oder man, frömbd oder haimsch, die uff der bulschaft sind oder bulen by inen habent, die

Das von Michael Kuthe angelegte Findbuch zu den Konstanzer Ratsprotokollen von 1549 bis 1570 weist von insgesamt 5626 Einträgen in einem Zeitraum von 21 Jahren lediglich 22 Einträge zu Dirnen auf. Das kann einerseits als ein Indiz für den Rückgang der öffentlichen Prostitution im Zuge der Reformation gewertet werden, zeigt aber andererseits ebenso, dass trotz der Zuchtordnung von 1531/38 das Gewerbe heimlich in der Illegalität weiterblühte. Offenbar gab es in der nördlichen Konstanzer Vorstadt namens Petershausen ein illegales Bordell. Denn 1556 befahl der Rat der „Elbe [Else?] Dienstmann, die jezo ain wurtschaft zu Petershausen betrieb, das ettliche gmaine metzen enthalten sol", solches abzustellen.[141] Im selben Jahr sollte man nach einem weiteren Ratsabschied erneut „die Mätz zu Petershausen" vertreiben.[142] Doch in dieser Konstanzer Vorstadt gelang das wohl nur teilweise. Denn am 26. Juni 1557 verfügte der Rat erneut, der Mätze in Petershausen ihren Aufenthalt dort zu untersagen.[143] Im selben Jahr heißt es in einem weiteren Ratsprotokoll, dass „Agtha Daigerin von Newen haus bei Ravenspurg in das vengknus komen, umb das sy sich leichtvertig und als ain gmaine Metz zu Petershausen nidergelassen hat."[144] 1549 forderte der Rat Ballasar [Baltasar?] Lenger auf, „das er die mezen nit also lasst vor sinem hus sazen und also ein unfur triben lassen."[145] In Lengers Haus wollte der Rat sodann am 22. März 1561 „vogel und Nest [...] usnemen, also würt und würtin bestrafen."[146]

Ein Ratsbeschluss vom 14. Juli 1561 verbot das Einlassen einer Dirne in ein privates Gemach.[147] Straßendirnen wurden bestraft, wenn immer der Rat ihrer habhaft werden konnte, was wohl aber eher selten geschah, wie die wenigen Einträge zeigen. Am 16. Feb-

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bulen sygen ledig oder nit, es syge ouch zu welher zyt es well, die sollend sy dem burgermaister anzöugen, der soll dann inen nach gestalt der sach verwilligen, das sy die uffhebent, namentlich die frow und der mann, soll aim jegklichem knecht 5 ß d zu straf verfallen sin, und mag aber der rat darnach mit straf gegen inen wyther handlen." „Nachtrag vom 10. Oktober 1545 auf fol., p. 35: Ain ersamer rat hat verordnet, das die ratsknecht, wann sy wibspersonen in der stadt sehent, die sy für unerbere wiber oder mätzen arkennent oder argkwenent, das sy dieselbigen dem bugermaister zubringen söllent, der soll sy dann in fangknis verwaren lassen oder sunst je nach gstalt der sachen gegen inen handlen."

[141] Stadtarchiv Konstanz, *Findbuch zu den Konstanzer Ratsprotokollen von (1549–1570),* Lfd. Nr. 2477, RB B I/65, fol. 166 (ohne Datum).

[142] Stadtarchiv Konstanz, *Findbuch zu den Konstanzer Ratsprotokollen von (1549–1570),* Lfd. Nr. 2466, RB B I/60, fol. 60, 76a. (1560).

[143] Stadtarchiv Konstanz, *Findbuch zu den Konstanzer Ratsprotokollen von (1549–1570),* Lfd. Nr. 2755, RB B I/60, fol. 127a; I/65, fol. 342 (26. Juni 1557).

[144] Stadtarchiv Konstanz, *Findbuch zu den Konstanzer Ratsprotokollen von (1549–1570),* Lfd. 2766, RB B I/65, fol. 346a (1557).

[145] Stadtarchiv Konstanz, *Findbuch zu den Konstanzer Ratsprotokollen von (1549–1570),* Lfd. Nr. 132, RB B I/59, fol. 34 (1549).

[146] Stadtarchiv Konstanz, *Findbuch zu den Konstanzer Ratsprotokollen von (1549–1570),* Lfd. Nr. 1561, RB B /60, fol. 194a (22. März 1561).

[147] Stadtarchiv Konstanz, *Findbuch zu den Konstanzer Ratsprotokollen von (1549–1570),* Lfd. Nr. 4109, RB B I/60, fol. 200 (14. Juli 1561).

ruar 1558, am Mittwoch vor Fastnacht, verfügte der Rat, die Metze, die im Paradies, einer südwestlichen Vorstadt von Konstanz, über den Graben läuft, in den Torturm zu werfen.[148] Am 10. September 1560 wurden die beiden „gemeinen Metzen“ Marie Kahrina Lienhart und Anna Hagelstein durch die Wächter in Gewahrsam genommen.[149] Zwei Jahre später befahl ein Ratsabschied den Knechten, wenn diese eine „gemeine Metze Tags oder Nachts ergriffen“, in den Torturm zu werfen.[150] Auch wurde am 11. Oktober 1567 den Stadtknechten befohlen, „wann die Metzen mehr über den graben herein gant, diese auch einzusperren (ins Keffe legen).“[151] Ein heimlicher Zutritt zur Stadt war den fremden Dirnen strikt untersagt. Ferner heißt es am 16. Oktober 1560, am St. Gallus Tag, dass den Torwachen befohlen wurde, „dass sy die [...] Mezen so stets vor der statt sin“, nicht einlassen sollen, aber die Dirnen, die durchziehen wollten, „sollend sy passieren lassen.“[152] Offensichtlich warteten vor den Toren der Stadt stets Wanderhuren auf Einlass. Diesen blieb nichts mehr anderes übrig als von Stadt zu Stadt zu ziehen.

Trotz verschärfter öffentlicher Sitten blieben die sogenannten „Pfaffenhuren“, Haushälterinnen und oft auch Geliebte von Pfarrern, ein verschiedentlich von den Konstanzer Stadtvätern angeprangertes Problem. Am 26. Juni 1555 verfügte der Rat: „Die Stubenherren sollen den würt und stubenknechten des Raths bschaid anzaigen der pfeffan Mezen hab die man nit uff hochzeiten laden soll.“[153] Dieser dem Frauenhauswirt und seinen Knechten bekannt zu machende Ratsabschied untersagte, Pfaffendirnen auf Hochzeiten einzuladen. Dem Jerg Maler Vischer, der „ain pfaffen mezen zur Ee genomen“, wurde 1559 das Bürgerrecht aberkannt.[154] Am 7. Juni 1559 wurde „Barbara Heppin“ vor den Rat geladen aus „der Ursach das sy nechtlicher will uff offner gassen gwesen und uff ain pfaffen gewartet hatt mi dem sy die werck der Unkuschait triben wellen.“[155] Im folgenden Jahr rannte Caspar Lür von Frankfurt zum Rat, weil er sich „hir mit ainer Burgers tochter verhyrat die aber ab ime ebruchig worden und ime selbs under augen gesagt sy welle ain pfaffen dirn sin wol er darzu kain Ursach geben", worauf sie in den „pruderturm" eingesperrt wurde.[156] Der „Osanna frytagen" wurde 1560 untersagt, einen Pfaffen weiterhin zu unterhalten.[157] Am 15. Februar 1563 wurde des „Töbers und pfaff götzen Metzen" das Bürgerrecht aberkannt.[158] Um eine weitere Aberkennung der Bürgerrechte von „Pfaffenmetzen" ging es in einem Ratsabschied vom 27. Mai 1564.[159] Besonders hart traf es Haushälterinnen von Pfarrern mit Kind. So ließ der Rat am 22. April 1566 der „pfaff liplis mezen sagen das sy mit dem kind hinweg zieh."[160]

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[148] Stadtarchiv Konstanz, *Findbuch zu den Konstanzer Ratsprotokollen von (1549–1570),* Lfd. Nr. 3006, RB B I/ 60, fol. 89a (16. Februar 1558).

[149] Stadtarchiv Konstanz, *Findbuch zu den Konstanzer Ratsprotokollen von (1549–1570),* Lfd. Nr. 3936, RB B I/67, fol. 456a (10. September 1560).

[150] Stadtarchiv Konstanz, *Findbuch zu den Konstanzer Ratsprotokollen von* (1549–1570), Lfd. Nr. 4288, RB B I/60, fol. 224a (1562).

[151] Stadtarchiv Konstanz, *Findbuch zu den Konstanzer Ratsprotokollen von* (1549–1570), Lfd. Nr. 4904, RB B I/60, fol. 331a.

[152] Stadtarchiv Konstanz, *Findbuch zu den Konstanzer Ratsprotokollen von (1549–1570),* Lfd. Nr. 3961, RB B I/60, fol. 183a (16. Oktober 1560).

[153] Stadtarchiv Konstanz, *Findbuch zu den Konstanzer Ratsprotokollen von (1549–1570),* Lfd. Nr. 1994, RB B I/60, fol. 41a, B I/64, fol. 144a (26. Juni 1555).

[154] Stadtarchiv Konstanz, *Findbuch zu den Konstanzer Ratsprotokollen von (1549–1570),* Lfd. Nr. 3455, RB B I/67, fol. 83a, fol. 84 (1559).

[155] Stadtarchiv Konstanz, *Findbuch zu den Konstanzer Ratsprotokollen von (1549–1570),* Lfd. Nr. 3497, RB B I/67, fol. 130 (7. Juni 1559).

Aus städtischen Prostituierten und ehemals Schutzbefohlenen des Rates wurden Straßendirnen und damit Außenseiterinnen, die seit dem 16. Jahrhundert als unehrenhaft und kriminell galten. Viele der seit dem 15. Jahrhundert grassierenden Holzschnitte hatten den Weg bereitet.[161] So geißelte Sebastian Brant als einer der ersten in seinem 1494 gedruckten „Narrenschiff" die „Buhlschaft" mit folgenden Worten:

> Der ist ein Narr, der buhlen will
> Und meint zu halten Maß und Ziel;
> Denn daß man Weisheit pfleg' – und buhle,
> Verträgt sich nicht auf einem Stuhle.
> Ein Buhler wird verblendet gar:
> Er meint, es nähm ihn niemand wahr.
> Dies ist das kräftigste Narrenkraut,
> Die Kappe klebt lang an der Haut.[162]

Der Kölner Bürger und Ratsherr Hermann Weinsberg (1518–1597) meinte, dass niemand „nit so gar gemein und geschant" sind wie die Huren.[163]

Die Landesherren schritten in der Frühen Neuzeit gegen die Prostitution ein. Ein Edikt König Ludwig IX., der 1254 im Zusammenhang mit einem Kreuzzug angeordnet hatte, alle Prostituierten aus Frankreich zu vertreiben und ihr Vermögen zu beschlagnahmen, war noch ohne große Resonanz geblieben.[164] Kaiser Maximilian I. verbot den „sündhaften" Damen, ihrem Gewerbe nachzugehen und ließ Bordelle schließen. Kaiser Ferdinand richtete 1560 eine „geheime Keuschheitskommission" ein. Auch gab es ein „Verzeichnis etlicher verdächtiger und leichtfertiger Örter in Wien". „Unzüchtige Weibspersonen" mussten hohe Geldstrafen zahlen, wurden öffentlich ausgepeitscht oder in einem „Narrenkötterl" angeprangert. Kaiser Ferdinand II. ersann 1633 eine Verordnung über *Tugendsambe Lebensführung*. Schließlich drohte Kaiserin Maria Theresia (1717–1780) in der *Constitutio Criminalis Theresiana* den Dirnen harte Strafen für Bestehlung von Freiern oder die Verbreitung von Syphilis an. In dem sog. „Temesvarer Wasserschübe" wurden Huren mit Kriminellen in Schiffen die Donau abwärts in den Banat deportiert.[165]

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[156] Stadtarchiv Konstanz, *Findbuch zu den Konstanzer Ratsprotokollen von (1549–1570),* Lfd. Nr. 3746, RB B I/67, fol. 309 (1560).

[157] Stadtarchiv Konstanz, *Findbuch zu den Konstanzer Ratsprotokollen von (1549–1570),* Lfd. Nr. 3926, RB B I/67, fol. 450a (1560).

[158] Stadtarchiv Konstanz, *Findbuch zu den Konstanzer Ratsprotokollen von (1549–1570),* Lfd. Nr. 4308, RB B I/ 60, fol. 227 (15. Februar 1563).

[159] Stadtarchiv Konstanz, *Findbuch zu den Konstanzer Ratsprotokollen von (1549–1570),* Lfd. Nr. 4494, RB B I/60, fol. 266 (27. Mai 1564).

[160] Stadtarchiv Konstanz, *Findbuch zu den Konstanzer Ratsprotokollen von (1549–1570),* Lfd. Nr. 4661, RB B I/60, fol. 285 (22. April 1566).

[161] Schuster, *Die unendlichen Frauen*, 151–185.

[162] Vgl. http://gutenberg.spiegel.de/buch/das-narrenschiff-2985/14 (Zugriff 07.03.2019).

[163] Hans Peter Duerr, *Nacktheit und Scham. Der Mythos vom Zivilisationsprozess* (Frankfurt am Main, 1994), 294.

[164] *Ordonnances des rois de France de la troisième race* I (Paris, 1723), 74, 79; Jehan de Joinville, *Vie de Saint Louis,* hrsg. Noel L. Corbett (Sherbrooke, 1977), 230.

Angesichts dieser Entwicklung erscheint es wie ein Treppenwitz der Geschichte, dass gerade in Deutschland das erst 2017 in Kraft getretene „Gesetz zur Regelung der Rechtsverhältnisse der Prostituierten (Prostitutionsgesetz–ProstG)" kritisiert wird, welches gerade die Prostituierten schützen sollte.[166] Dagegen ist in den meisten anderen europäischen Staaten die Prostitution verboten. Ludwig der Heilige lässt grüßen.

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B I/67, fol. 130 (7. Juni 1559); fol. 309 (1560); 450a (1560); fol. 456a (10. September 1560); 83a, fol. 84 (1559).
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[165] Werner Sabitzer, „Geschichte der Prostitution".

[166] Siehe https://www.gesetze-im-internet.de/prostg/BJNR398310001.html (Zugriff 05.03.2019); zur Kritik daran vgl.: https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Prostitutionsgesetz (Zugriff 05.03.2019).

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Part 3: **Actors**

Andrew W. White

Exile on Main Street: A Few Thoughts on the Curious Case of the Marginal Mime

1 Introduction

Once upon a time a certain Serapion, an Egyptian ascetic, sold himself to a pair of pagan actors as a slave.[1] Moved by his humility, both husband and wife eventually converted, were baptized, and left the stage. Not knowing his true identity, they tried to liberate Serapion, and said: “Come, brother, let us set you free, since you freed us from our shameful slavery.” Serapion then revealed that he was a free man, who had only pretended to be a slave out of compassion for their souls.[2]

In reading this anecdote from Palladios’ *Lausiac History*, we are expected to treat the mimes’ talk of theatrical slavery as a metaphor. But there were other, legal aspects to the status of mimes that rendered them slaves in all but name throughout Late Antiquity. Palladios’ audience, aware of these legal and social realities, would have understood that Serapion’s ministry was more complex; he did not just convert this pagan couple to Christianity, he also liberated them from a social and legal status that was indeed quite low.

Here is the rub, however: it would appear that, for many years, Roman mimes were so prosperous and (to some degree) respected that they did not seem concerned about their legal status. For all the invective directed against them, it seems they were not terribly worried about their social standing among the elites; after all, regardless of what elites said about them, they still welcomed mimes into their homes and paid for private performances. The relative invisibility of the mimes’ marginal status speaks to a curious phenomenon of dueling narratives: on the one hand, working actors often had enough money to hire slaves, and they enjoyed widespread popular acceptance. On the other hand, for all their fame and fortune, the mimes were always reviled by a certain sector of the Roman public—intellectuals and officials who, given the opportunity, could make their lives utterly miserable.[3]

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[1] I wish to thank Despoina Ariantzi and Przemysław Marciniak for inviting me to contribute to this volume. The title may be familiar to some readers, as it refers to a famous album by the Rolling Stones, a rock-and-roll group whose fame and marginal social status harmonize in interesting ways with that of the Roman artists that are the subject of this essay.

[2] From *Lausiac History*, 37.2. Translation from *Palladios: The Lausiac History*, trans. Robert T. Meyer (Westminster, MD, 1965), 105–106.

[3] As Ruth Webb, “Female entertainers in late antiquity,” in *Greek and Roman Actors: Aspects of an Ancient Profession*, eds. Pat Easterling and Edith Hall (Cambridge, 2002), 293 has pointed out, “Practically, the legal disabilities resulting from *infamia* may not have made a great difference to performers’ lives, even where Roman law was applied. But they reflected the *de facto* social exclusion of a group

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Our discussions of mimes and their marginalization are dominated by these latter factions who (by sheer coincidence) have left a generous record of their invective. Anti-theatrical literature, Christian and secular, overwhelms the epigraphic evidence of successful mimes whose careers were celebrated, not pitied. Roman actors often had a social and legal status close to that of hostile barbarians, but mimes were often highly regarded, to the point of pop-idolatry; if this is what it means to live a 'life on the margins,' what's not to like about it?[4]

Marginalization of mimes was, from the perspective of everyday urban life, an intellectual conceit, created by Greco-Roman elites and enhanced (albeit for different reasons) by Christian theologians. But this condemnation of acting hardly mattered, so long as the mimes could enjoy their legal exile status on Rome's Main Street. Employed by the state, they had regular work in the Empire's year-round cycle of theatrical festivals. The attempt to marginalize mimes, in effect, was itself a marginal phenomenon and of little practical consequence in a mime's daily life.

But by the late 4th century, there were signs that the status of stage performers had devolved to something bordering on actual slavery. It would appear that centuries of hardening attitudes, coupled with increasingly harsh legal restrictions, made the actor's profession increasingly untenable. Marginalizing mimes had, by the Early Byzantine period, become a mainstream phenomenon; it is all the more remarkable, then, to have an entire oration devoted to defending their humanity and dignity by a public intellectual of the sixth century—Choricios of Gaza.

Mimes underwent several changes in fortune over the centuries, and we must be wary of the tendency to take one period as representing their entire history; it wasn't all wine and roses, but it wasn't all bile and brutality either. The following essay includes an analysis of legal codes and Church canons while tracing a crucial period in the history of the Roman mime, with an emphasis on the vicissitudes in its status. I will conclude with some observations on Choricios of Gaza's *Apologia Mimorum*, an

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whose members were either born into the profession or were slaves, and whose itinerant life-style marked them off from the communities in which they worked."

[4] For general accounts of the Roman mime's art and social status, see Richard C. Beacham, *The Roman Theatre and its Audience* (London, 1991), 129–140. Sir Arthur Pickard-Cambridge, *Dramatic Festivals of Athens* (Oxford, 1988), 297–305 summarizes the evidence for the *technitae* and their eventual union with the athletic guilds during the 3rd century CE. As self-governing guild members associated with pagan or imperial cults, these actors would have enjoyed such legal protections as immunity from taxation and military service – not unlike *perigrini.* Studies of the legal status of actresses include Judith Evans Grubbs, "Virgins and Widows, Show-Girls and Whores: Late Roman Legislation on Women and Christianity," in *Law, Society, and Authority in Late Antiquity*, ed. Ralph W. Mathisen (Oxford, 1997), 220–241; Dorothea R. French, "Maintaining Boundaries: The Status of Actresses in Early Christian Society," *Vigiliae Christianae* 52 (1998): 293–318. For an account of a 3rd-century CE stele (with portrait in relief) dedicated to the actress Bassilla, see Webb, "Female entertainers," 282–303, but also Lucia Prauscello, "Rehearsing Her Own Death: A Note on Bassilla's Epitaph," *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 147 (2004): 56–58.

oration that appears to raise the social standing of mimes even among the very elites who reviled them most. Scholars have yet to trace properly the mime's progress from fame, to the margins, and back again; indeed, some might argue that actors to this day remain ideologically marginalized. The enduring question of actors as human beings and professionals worthy of respect, renders Chorikios' defense of mimes especially compelling.

2 The Mime as Legal Object

Mimes rarely formed guilds, almost never competed for prizes, and had nothing in the way of social respectability. Consider that even Emperor Caracalla, who fashioned himself the "second Dionysus" and who built a temple to the god of theatre astride the scenic building in Pergamum (offstage left, to be precise), issued a declaration of universal Roman citizenship but excluded mimes from the privilege.[5] What legal status did Roman mimes have? Freedmen is too vague a term,[6] and *infamae* is more an epithet than a term of legal art. *Humilis abiectaeque* only refers to the reasons for their debased status—their lowly birth and allegedly vile way of life.[7] Caracalla had eliminated even the category of *peregrini*;[8] so what were these mimes?

In Gaius' commentaries on Roman Law, he discusses the class of *dediticii*, "enemies who have surrendered at discretion," and mentions several situations—slaves forced to fight as gladiators, for example—in which manumission of domestics would effectively "promote" them to this status.[9] By design, *dediticii* were free in word only, and as Gaius makes clear, "only the lowest degree of freedom is possessed by those who belong to the class of *dediticii*, nor is *any* way afforded them of obtaining Roman citizenship."[10] This certainly describes the mime's situation, and I would argue that in legal terms the mimes of Late Antiquity are best understood as the equivalent of *dediticii*. We know Caracalla specifically excluded *dediticii* from citizenship[11] and that, like other "barbarians," mimes were forced by the authorities to perform onstage.[12]

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[5] On Caracalla's reforms see A. H. M. Jones, *A History of Rome through the Fifth Century*, 2 vols. (New York, 1970), 2:291–292; see also J. P. V. D. Balsdon, *Romans and Aliens* (London, 1979), 95–96, and Peter Garnsey, *Social Status and Legal Privilege in the Roman Empire* (Oxford, 1970), 260–271. Jones and Balsdon both include Cassius Dio's remark that citizenship was made universal primarily for tax purposes, and Balsdon points out that exemptions from civic duties granted to aliens—and the *technitai Dionysou* would have been among them—were rescinded once the grantees became citizens. Garnsey points out there was also an erosion in legal privileges (freedom from torture included) that had been traditionally granted to Roman citizens.

[6] Ulpian, for example, distinguishes between three types of freedmen—citizens, Junian Latins, and *dediticii*, about which more presently. See Ulpian, *Rules* 1, lines 5–11, with English in *The Civil Law*, trans. Samuel Parson Scott, 17 vols. (Cincinnati, 1932), 1:223–224.

[7] Judith Evans Grubbs, *Law and Family in Late Antiquity* (Oxford, 1995), 292–293.

[8] As Grubbs has pointed out, however, Emperor Constantine later threatened local officials with *peregrinus* status if they tried to pass off daughters born by actresses as legitimate (*Law and Family*, 284–285).

[9] Gaius, *Commentaries*, 1:13, in *The Civil Law*, trans. Scott, 1:83.

Although the theatrical profession appeared, from the audience's perspective, to be one of ease and riches, indications are that by time of the co-emperorship of Valens and Valentinian, a theatrical career was not pursued by choice. The evidence, while not direct, is still quite telling. Consider this edict from the Theodosian Code:

> If men and women of the stage, in the final extremity of life . . . should hasten to partake of the sacraments of the Most High God and should perchance survive, they cannot thereafter be recalled, by any summons, to the performance of theatrical spectacles. Before all else, however, with diligent sanction We command the exercise of due circumspection and oversight, so that only those persons who are *actually* in extreme danger shall make the demand for the sacraments for their souls' salvation, and they shall receive this special favor only if the bishops approve.[13]

Adult baptisms were the rule in Late Antiquity, and conversion for mimes meant they would have to leave the stage—in most cases, the only profession they had ever known. Given the financial risks involved for both themselves and their families, we would expect our stars of the stage to avoid baptism like the plague. But by the 370s CE, actors were so eager to convert that they were faking deadly illnesses to receive the sacraments and quit the stage.

To illustrate the absurdity that gave rise to this edict I will pause here, dear reader, to illustrate why the emperors were in a panic: picture a Roman mime, in bed, by all appearances at death's door. Consider what you would need for an effective performance of being near to death: pale cheeks, tumors, discoloration of the skin, tremors, halting speech, wails of pain—any or all of which could be easily achieved by stagecraft. The mime would likely have colleagues on hand, as well as a spouse and children, by all appearances in deep mourning. A Roman official confronted by such an effectively-staged deathbed scene would naturally call for the bishop to administer the rites of baptism ("I renounce thee, Satan, and thy pomps . . ."). Our Roman official would then leave the pathetic scene, only to discover this same newlybaptized mime a day or two later, fully recovered ("A miracle! God be praised!") and tendering their resignation from the stage.[14]

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[10] Gaius, *Commentaries*, 1:26, in *The Civil Law*, trans. Scott, 1:85.

[11] An extant legal papyrus indicates that Caracalla specifically excluded *dediticii* from his universal declaration; see Jones, 2:291–292, and William Warwick Buckland, *A Text-Book of Roman Law from Augustus to Justinian*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge, 1966), 96–98. Both categories were anachronisms by Justinian's time (p. 99), and *Codex Justinianus* 7.5.1, in *The Civil Law*, trans. Scott, 14:122, *ca.* 530 CE. The author would like to thank Ralph Mathisen for his guidance on this matter.

[12] As Peter Garnsey, *Social Status*, 262, notes: "it was a basic principle of Roman law that aliens, being outside the *ius civile*, were subject to magisterial coercion (*coercitio*)."

[13] *Codex Theodosianus* 15.7.1, in *The Theodosian Code and Novels and the Sirmondian Constitutions*, trans. Clive Pharr (Princeton, 1952), 433, italics mine, initial capital letters in Pharr's original.

As bizarre as this scenario might seem to us, so many performers had received death-bed baptisms, under false pretenses, that Valens and Valentinian had to institute an elaborate procedure designed to guarantee that these mimes were truly on their deathbeds.[15]

As for why mimes would go to these lengths to quit the stage, consider an edict from the same year, 371 CE:

> If they conduct themselves so as to be seemly, Your Integrity should keep daughters of the stage away from the deceit and pillaging of rowdies [*fraude direptionibusque inquietantium*]. For it is just that only such daughters of men and women of the stage should be recalled to the theater who appear to be living and to have lived a wanton life in their manner of living, and in their morals.[16]

The expression "daughters of the stage" can be read as referring to all women of the stage, mothers, wives and daughters. Some especially squeamish scholars have maintained that this edict merely exempts children from stage work.[17] But look at the florid language here and consider: what did actresses and their daughters have that might have inspired the average Roman male to "deceive and pillage" them?

Also worth noting is the way in which the law only *pretends* to ban rape and molestation. The edict states that only immoral and vulgar girls could be forced into these theatrical services, but what this means is that the rape of mimes and their children was legal, if the assailant claimed they had already embraced "the oldest profession." Remember too that because none of these women enjoyed the protections of citizenship, none of them had any legal standing to press charges; and even if they did, the right of counter-accusation in the *Lex Julia* would have ensured their assignment to the theatre brothels.[18]

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[14] For an example of baptized mimes quitting the stage at their bishop's behest, see C. Lepelley, "Trois documents méconnus sur l'histoire sociale et religieuse de l'Afrique romaine tardive parmi les *spuria* de Sulpice Sévère," *Antiquités Africaines* 25 (1989): 258–261.

[15] *CTh* 15.7.1, trans. Pharr, 433: ". . . such request for sacraments shall be immediately reported to the judges [*judices*], if they are present, or to the curators of the several cities, so that inspectors may be sent and careful inquiry may be made as to whether necessity demands that such extreme help be granted as a favor." This is not to say that actors were singled out for this kind of bureaucratic runaround: there are upwards of thirty Imperial edicts from the same period designed to keep the *curiales*, who produced the shows, from becoming clergy and hence freed of their own theatrical obligations; see Claudia Rapp, "The Elite Status of Bishops in Late Antiquity in Ecclesiastical, Spiritual, and Social Contexts," *Arethusa* 33.3 (2000): 379–399, here 390.

[16] *CTh* 15.7.2, trans. Pharr, 433.

[17] Grubbs, "Late Roman Legislation," 237 and French, "Maintaining Boundaries," 304, n. 43 find the law simply protects mimes' daughters from stage-work.

[18] See for instance *CTh* 9.7.1 (ca. 326 CE; trans. Pharr 231) where Constantine "frees" women of mean status from prosecution for adultery, because "they are not deemed worthy of the consideration of

Left unspoken in this edict is the fact that boys were just as much in demand as girls.[19]

In the bleak world of Roman law this misogynistic edict, issued by Christian emperors, speaks to a social and legal tradition that endured for centuries. In his notorious pseudo-biography of Empress Theodora (*ca.* 497–548), Procopios of Caesarea claims that even as a little girl she was willing to turn tricks like a male prostitute, long before she could accommodate men sexually in the normal way.[20] Disgusting? Yes. But as Elizabeth Fisher points out, Procopios assumes his audience's acquaintance with this kind of exploitation, which (as this edict shows) is assumed to be perfectly legal.[21] Roman Law effectively sought to keep actors in a profession whose job

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the laws," a pronouncement that had a double-edge to it. See also Thomas A. J. McGinn, *The Economy of Prostitution in the Roman World: A Study of Social History and the Brothel* (Ann Arbor, Michigan, 2004), 55–71, on traditional modes and sources for recruitment of prostitutes. Parents of low-born children could sell them into slavery; the edict appears to cover those instances where a potential customer is in too much of a rush to ask permission first.

[19] On the mixture of toleration and hostility towards homosexuality and pederasty in Rome and Early Byzantium, see Ramsey MacMullen, "Roman Attitudes to Greek Love," in *Homosexuality in the Ancient World*, eds. Wayne R. Dynes and Stephen Donaldson (New York, 1992), 340–358. See also Thomas Wiedemann, *Adults and Children in the Roman Empire* (London, 1989), 30–31. Wiedemann describes the use of Greek names in Latin poetry on homosexual themes, and relationships with boys involving the lower or slave classes—classes to which male prostitutes, male actors, and their sons traditionally belonged. McGinn, *Economy of Prostitution*, 97 mentions an edict of Constantine I (much hyped by St. Jerome) that merely banned male prostitution outside the theatre district. Sexual exploitation of male actors and their male children would have been difficult if not impossible to prosecute; Margaret Malloy, *Libanius and the Dancer* (New York, 1996), 111 points out that even pantomimes who had the good fortune to be citizens, and who could prosecute for sexual assault, would be subject to countercharges in court so that "a public prosecution under the *lex Julia de adulteriis* admitted the possibility of both parties being found guilty."

[20] Procopios, *Historia Arcana*, 9, lines 8–10, translation in Procopios*: The Secret History with Related Texts*, trans. Anthony Kaldellis (Indianapolis, 2010), 41.

[21] For a contextual analysis of Procopios' *Secret History*, see Elizabeth A. Fisher, "Theodora and Antonina in the *Historia Arcana*," *Arethusa* 11 (1978): 253–279. Fisher concludes that "Procopios and his contemporaries *wanted* to believe that Theodora and Antonina did the sort of things attributed to them in the *Historia Arcana* because such portraits agreed with the then-current stereotype of independent or offensive women" (275). J. B. Bury, *History of the Later Roman Empire*, 2 vols. (New York, 1958), 2:29 likewise says that Procopios' invective "has more value as a picture of contemporary manners than as an indictment of the morals of Theodora." Averil Cameron, however (*Procopius and the Sixth Century* [London, 1985], 59–60) stresses Procopios' classicizing literary style and notes that his attacks on Theodora were actually tame compared to what could be dished out to male adversaries. For a more "normative" interpretation, consider James Allan Evans, For a more "normative" interpretation, consider James Allan Evans: "The mentality of the age assumed that all actresses were trollops, and even if Theodora had not sold her favors, it would have been taken for granted that she did. *Yet there is no reason to think her an exception to the rule*" (*The Empress Theodora, Partner of Justinian* [Austin, TX, 2002], 15, italics mine).

description either included prostitution or was deliberately confused with it.[22] Mimes could be prostituted from childhood[23] onward; this fact alone provides a very practical, compelling reason for them to quit the stage by any means necessary. And if they could use their histrionic skills to aid in their own liberation, so much the better.

In traditional histories of the theatre, the Church is usually cast as the villain; this scenario usually plays out in a context where concepts like "theatre" and "audience" are defined in morally neutral terms. But why should we ally ourselves with the "Theatre" and its "Audience" when the form of this specific theatre scene is so utterly exploitative?[24] Throughout Late Antiquity, it was the "enemies" of the theatre who regarded actors as human beings, while the "good guys" who went to the theatre held them in contempt, treated them like barbarians, and—as the *Codex Theodosianus* and Procopios remind us—regarded sexual access to mimes from childhood on as their birthright.

By the end of the 4th century, it appears that Roman mimes—confronted by the harsh reality of their legal marginality—were beginning to shuffle off the bonds imposed on them by Roman law and started to move from the margins of society to the mainstream on the power of their conversion to Christianity. Within the confines of their church congregations, they now had respect. Roman society as a whole, however, demanded their return; some 50-odd years after the edicts above, so many actresses had left the stage that Theodosios II issued an edict forcing them to return.[25]

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[22] The nature of the commercial relationship between mime troupes and bands of prostitutes (if any) remains unclear, even if Roman law grouped them together as part of the entertainment industry. McGinn, *Economy of Prostitution*, 26 describes pimps and prostitutes traveling to different festivals, much as the mimes themselves did. McGinn makes no direct connection between the two groups, leaving the impression that each traveled in its own entourage. But the traditional prejudice against lower-class women, and the assumption of their sexual availability, meant that as far as the Roman elite was concerned, actresses and prostitutes were identical, even if they belonged to distinct professions. On this deliberate confusion see also Catherine Edwards, "Unspeakable Professions: Public Performance and Prostitution in the Roman Empire," in *Roman Sexualities*, eds. Judith P. Hallett and Marilyn B. Skinner (Princeton, 1997), 66–95. For Prostitution in Byzantium, see Despoina Ariantzi, "Byzantinische Prostituierte. Zwischen Marginalisierung und Reintegration in die Gesellschaft," *Byz* 91 (2021): 1–45.

[23] For the childhood in Byzantium, see Despoina Ariantzi, *Kindheit in Byzanz. Emotionale, geistige und materielle Entwicklung im familiären Umfeld vom 6. bis zum 11. Jahrhundert*, Millennium Studies 36 (Berlin, 2012).

[24] Allardyce Nicoll, for one, romanticizes the conflict between the mime and the Church as one between "cultured secularism" and "ascetic repression" (*Masks, Mimes and Miracles: Studies in the Popular Theatre* [New York, 1963], 130). More recently, and in a similar vein, see Marios Ploritis, *To Theatro sto Vyzantio* (Athens, 1999), 35–36, who claims the Church's anti-theatrical bias was merely part of a grand conspiracy to stifle free speech.

[25] *Codex Theodosianus* 15.7.13, eds. Theodoror Mommsen and Paulus M. Meyer, 2 vols., 3rd ed. (Berlin, 1962), 1:824, translation mine: "We decree that mime-actresses freed by various writings are to be recalled to their duties with all urgency, so that the usual decoration is not absent from the people's spectacles and festival days."

The gains they had made in social status, after their conversion, were now under threat.

To complicate matters further, other baptized, Christian mimes had returned to the stage of their own volition. This created a cultural anomaly; the walking, talking oxymoron of a Roman, Christian mime who was a fully-vested citizen of the Empire. The Church, which had fought to elevate the mimes' social and legal status, had to face an unpleasant reality: for a variety of reasons, many among their newly-liberated flock went back on the stage. The next section will address the Church's official responses to this problem, as well as the natural obstacles they faced at the parish level.

3 The Mime as Canonical Object

What happens when mimes convert, but then return to the stage? On paper, there does not appear to be any doubt; the Council of Elvira, held in Spain in the years prior to Constantine's reign, listed severe penalties—including excommunication—for those who returned.[26] The Church's ban had already extended to former mimes offering acting lessons, as Bishop Cyprian of Carthage made plain as early as the mid-3rd century.[27] The *ludi*'s continued associations with pagan gods may have been a determining factor, but as I have discussed elsewhere, acting as a profession remained anathema regardless of the context in which it was practiced.[28]

After Christianity became legal, and after the *ludi scaenici* were effectively secularized and stripped of their pagan associations,[29] canons from the First and Second

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[26] "If a chariot driver in the circus or an actor of pantomimes in the theatre has faith, it is fitting that he first renounce his craft: then he will be received, provided that he not return to his profession: but if, in spite of the ban, he tries [to perform] again, let him be dismissed from the bosom of the Church." *Sacrorum Conciliorum Nova et Amplissima Collectio*, ed. Giovanni Domenico Mansi, 54 vols., 2nd ed. (Paris, 1901–1927), 2:16; see also Jules M. Le Compte de Douhet, *Dictionnaire des mystères, moralités, rites figurés et cérémonies singulières*, (Paris, 1854, repr. Turnhout, 1989), 15.

[27] *Letters of St. Cyprian*, trans. G. W. Clarke (New York, 1984), 53–54, "Letter 2 to Eucratius": "No-one should plead in excuse that he personally has given up the stage, whilst nonetheless he continues to teach others. He cannot be considered to have retired if he puts others in his stead and replaces his own single person by a number of substitutes."

[28] See Andrew Walker White, *Performing Orthodox Ritual in Byzantium* (Cambridge, 2015), 47–50 for my discussion of theological objections to acting in the Jewish and Christian traditions.

[29] As Timothy David Barnes, "Christians and the Theater," in *Roman Theater and Society: E. Togo Salmon Papers I*, ed. William J. Slater (Ann Arbor, 1996), 173–174, has pointed out, ". . . the obvious idolatry of the theater could be removed just as easily as the pagan veneer in the imperial cult . . . it required merely a change in the surrounding ceremony, not an alteration in the nature of the performance." See also Dorothea R. French, *Christian Emperors and Pagan Spectacles: The Secularization of the Ludi A.D. 382–525*, unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, University of California (Berkeley, 1985).

Councils of Arles (*ca.* 314 and 451 CE) have been cited as evidence that the Church was willing to cede its members to the stage, albeit temporarily.[30] This optimistic interpretation, however, hinges on a misunderstanding of the word *quamdiū*, which in ancient times may have had the connotation of "while (they perform)"[31] but which in Late Antique usage had a more concrete meaning of "since" or "because (they perform)."[32] In this interpretation, a return to the theatre, for whatever reason, meant excommunication.

Officially, the Church never wavered on the issue of actor-converts; but the question is: did the Church ever follow through on its many threats? Apparently not: even in John Chrysostom's day, the pulpit was powerless to restrain the average Christian's love of entertainment. If the threat of excommunication had actually been carried out, Hagia Sophia would have stood empty. This explains why, during Justinian's reign, we find Bishop Jacob of Serugh, at his wit's end because some of his flock continued to perform onstage, while the rest went to the theatre to watch them.[33] The once-oxymoronic concept of Christian mimes performing for Christian audiences was, whether the Church liked it or not, a new reality. Mimes, now citizens by virtue of their baptism into the Church, enjoyed the fellowship of their fans—a relationship not based so much on adulation or sexual exploitation as on equality. And with the rise of Justinian, and the crowning of a former mime as empress, these positive changes were further reinforced.

4 The Era of Justinian

From a theatrical perspective Justinian's reign is mixed; although he is traditionally blamed for closure of the Empire's network of theatres,[34] in his early career he was one of the theatrical *ludi*'s biggest fans. Justinian's consular games, as Richard Lim notes, were among the most spectacular ever seen in Constantinople.[35] And his love for Theodora led to the first great reform of his era—the right of actresses to marry men of quality, as decreed by his good uncle, Emperor Justin. The *Corpus Iuris Civilis* deleted all the Theodosian Code's restrictions on actor-conversions, as well as the threats against women who returned to their old profession. The only edicts Justinian preserved placed limits on where mimes could advertise their shows, and forbade actresses to masquerade as nuns.[36]

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[30] Barnes, "Christians and the Theater," 177 interprets the canons of Arles as excommunicating actors and charioteers "so long as they continued to perform or to race," i.e., until their retirement.

[31] See *Oxford Latin Dictionary,* ed. P. G. W. Glare (Oxford, 1968*) s.v.* "quamdiū," esp. B.3, 4. In support of this interpretation see for instance *A Latin Grammar*, ed. George M. Lane, rev. ed. (New York, 1903), 347–349.

[32] See *A Latin Dictionary*, eds. Charlton T. Lewis and Charles Short (Oxford, 1962), s.v. "quamdiu," II. d. Lewis and Short cite the Vulgate translation of Matt. 25:40 (from the parable of the separation of sheep from goats): ". . . *in so far* [quamdiū] as you did it for one of the most insignificant of these, who are my brothers, you did it to me." The Vulgate, however, also uses the word in the older, relative sense; see for example *Matt* 9:15, "Can the wedding guests mourn *as long as* [quamdiū] the bridegroom is with them?" It would appear both meanings were common in Late Antiquity.

[33] See Jacob, Bishop of Serugh, "Jacob of Serugh's Homilies on the Spectacles and the Thaeter," trans. C. Moss, *Le Muséon* 48 (1935): 76–113.

[34] Procopios, *Anecdota*, 26.8. See Kaldellis, *Prokopios: The Secret History*, 114 but also n. 96. Theatres were often closed for political reasons, and both Novel 105 (issued in 537 CE) and Novel 149 (issued in 569 CE) of the Justinian Code include guidelines for theatrical games as a still-active political obligation

Finally, and most importantly, Justinian turned to the issue of producers who still tried to force actresses back on-stage with binding contracts. Not only does he rescind Theodosios II's edict of recall discussed above, Justinian places severe penalties on officials who attempted to keep women in the theatres, defining any performance contract imposed by force null and void.[37]

In part as a result of Justinian's reforms, the mid-sixth century may have been the first time since the Hellenistic age when actors could perform or not, as they chose. It was also the first time since the dawn of Christianity that the state viewed a mime's personal faith with indifference. Just as a mime could easily become Christian, a Christian could remain—or even become—a mime. This newfound freedom, in turn, sets the stage for one of the most thorough defenses of the acting profession ever written.

5 Chorikios and the Actor as Human Being

By the sixth century mimes had been converting to Christianity for centuries, with a number of them returning to the stage. This meant that every day on the street, and on Sundays in church, one would routinely greet, as equals, mimes and former mimes who knew the profession well. This new but increasingly routine social interaction would have helped to humanize actors in the eyes of the general public. Perhaps the

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for the masses. See also *The Novels of Justinian: A Complete Annotated English Translation*, trans. David J. Miller and Peter Sarris (Cambridge, 2018), 690 and 963.

[35] See Richard Lim, "Consensus and Dissensus on Public Spectacles in Early Byzantium," in *Conformity and Non-Conformity in Byzantium: Papers Given at the Eighth Conference of the Australian Association for Byzantine Studies, University of New England, Australia, July 1993*, ed. Lynda Garland (Amsterdam, 1997), 164–166 at 173–174.

[36] For the relevant edicts on spectacles preserved by Justinian (*CJ* XI:41, 1 at 4), see *CJC* 2:437–438. The edict on nun-masquerades, *CTh* 15.7.12 (Pharr 435) is preserved as *CJ* 1.4.4. The other edicts retained from the Theodosian Code concerned themselves with chariot races (*CTh* XI:41.2, 3, at 5) and with procurers' attempts to prostitute their own wives and children (*CTh* XI:41.6).

[37] Just. Nov. 51; see Miller and Sarris, *Novels*, 421–423.

strongest evidence for the normalization of actors is in Chorikios of Gaza's Oration in defense of the mimes.[38]

Chorikios took it upon himself to argue that mimes were practitioners of a respectable craft, and – even more radically – that they should be treated as normal citizens. He begins his defense cautiously, devoting his *theoria* to establishing his own personal integrity, and distancing himself from the more unsavory among his "clientele." Chorikios also takes the bold step of equating his own craft, rhetoric, with that of stage-acting.[39] Taking his argument one step further, he begins from the beginning (as it were) by tackling Plato's old stereotype of actors as witless ciphers, positioning their art as part of a broader, nobler field of mimetic crafts:[40]

> You realize of course how many arts have mimesis in their scope: rhetoric, poetry that can transform copper, skillfully turning it from a liquid into something that looks alive; also the arts of dancing, sculpting and painting. So what better praise for the mimes could one offer? They have a name that everyone strives for.[41]

One of the unique features of Chorikios' argument that merits special attention is this: because he is a rhetor whose profession includes the delivery of set speeches (like this very oration), he can base his defense of mimes on a practical knowledge of the mindset and technical skills required for public performance.

Emphasizing the multiple roles mimes had to play, Chorikios goes inside the head of the average performer, thinking their way through a performance, with all the lines of their repertoire locked in their memory. Rattling off a long list of practical performance skills, he then dismisses the accusation that mimes are all drunkards, a standard piece of elitist, anti-theatrical invective.[42] Chorikios knows better than to claim all mimes are sober, so he makes the practical point that a weakness for the grape, in this or any other profession, can make it impossible to perform effectively.

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[38] Literally, the title reads "On Behalf of Those who Represent Life in Dionysus' [Theatre]"; this (minus the brackets) is T. D. Barnes' translation (see "Christians and the Theater," 178). Ioannis E. Stefanis, in his Modern Greek translation, renders the title as "A Speech Defending Those Who Represent Life in the Theatre," Χορικίου Σοφιστού Γάζης Συνηγορία Μίμων, Κλασικά Γράμματα 3 (Thessaloniki, 1986), 55.

[39] Chorikios of Gaza, *Apologia Mimorum*, 1, eds. Richard Foerster and Ebenhard Richtsteig (Stuttgart, 1972), p. 345, lines 5–8: "Nobody here would think ill of me if I continued with this preamble since, rhetoric being the practice of imitating everything, crafting set-speeches on worthy subjects, I have come here in support of *mimesis*."

[40] J. J. Tierney, "Ancient Dramatic Theory and its Survival in the 'Apologia Mimorum' of Choricius of Gaza," in *9th International Congress of Byzantine Studies* (Athens, 1958), 3:270–271 believes this passage is derived from a now-lost Aristotelian treatise *On Poets*; he argues that at first Aristotle considered rhetoric to be mimetic, but may have changed his mind in later years, which might account for rhetoric's absence from his list of mimetic crafts in the *Poetics*.

[41] Chorikios of Gaza, *Apologia Mimorum*, 13, lines 14–19, eds. Foerster and Richtsteig, p. 347.

[42] Chorikios of Gaza, *Apologia Mimorum*, 124, lines 18–26, p. 372,: "How could they possibly maintain self-control and sing correctly? For he must have a gladdening voice and a flowing tongue at the ready . . . Furthermore, he has to know how to dance and not just speak cleverly, but also to enchant

By delineating the basic skills of the actor, Chorikios can even defend the work of the female impersonator as a distinct art form.[43] Chorikios makes the practical point that a role's exterior qualities are distinct from the inner character of the performer, and he illustrates this with two amusing cases of cross-dressing from antiquity—Aristophanes' *Frogs* and a famous pantomime from the tales of the Trojan War. He is even willing to admit his own lack of machismo to clinch the argument:

> Tell me this; so you suppose [female impersonation] feminizes the spectator or the actor? Of course, you will say both, but I will say neither. Because the soul does not change with the costume, even when someone suits his voice to his outward appearance. A lion skin didn't make Aristophanes' Xanthias brave, any more than a womanly robe made Peleus' son [Achilles] a coward. Even if I take off my civilian garb and put on a soldier's armor, that does not make me warlike.[44]

As for adultery plays—whose enduring popularity contributed so much to the marginalization of mimes—Choricios summarizes the typical plot, and points out that cheating men and women are usually taken to court, where the Roman adultery laws could end in death if convicted.

More importantly, though, Choricios points out that the mimes themselves wouldn't hesitate to take an adulterer to court—after all they, too, were married and had families. To bring his point home, he takes a moment to enact a hypothetical court case (very mime-like, that), impersonating both the adulterer and a typical married mime:

> He [the accused] won't say before of the judges, "Gentlemen of the court, this man taught me how to do it; he taught his own wife to think adultery was a piece of cake!" . . . He will hear his accuser say, "Sir, I don't even let the man who committed adultery *onstage* go unpunished; but I am outraged, and I say 'Tell the servant boy to come; bring me my dagger!' so the servant comes, holding what I told him to bring; then, after thinking it over awhile I decide it would be terrible to take revenge with my own hands, so I lead them both to court.[45]

It is here that Chorikios cites a relatively new development in Roman Law: committing adultery with a mime, once perfectly legal, was now a crime. Because both the

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with a look and – if he must – to appear to be deceived, 'Seeing but not seeing,' so to speak, 'hearing but not hearing,' so that he doesn't miss a single graceful turn . . ."

[43] *Letters of St. Cyprian*, 53: Bishop Cyprian's chief complaint, in the letter cited above, is that the mime in his case had set up a school for female impersonators: ". . . he is teaching and instructing men, contrary to the ordinance of God, how to be debased into women and how, through art, to change their sex and thus by sinful actions of their perverted and degenerate bodies to give gratification to the devil who despoils the handiwork of God."

[44] Chorikios of Gaza, *Apologia Mimorum*, 76–77, lines 11–18, eds. Foerster and Richtsteig.

[45] Chorikios of Gaza, *Apologia Mimorum*, 54–55, eds. Foerster and Richtsteig, p. 356, line 19 and p. 357, line 5.

actress and her husband were citizens, they have the right to take the case to court; their marriage, once completely disregarded, now had legal standing.

6 Conclusion

This snippet of theatrical history covers changes in the Roman mimes' fortunes, ending—for now—on a happier note. By the mid-6th century, thanks in part to the interventions of the Church and Emperor Justinian, mimes had been transformed into citizens, Christians, even Empresses. They could now, for the first time in centuries, choose acting as a profession or move on to other lines of work. The elites could still turn up their noses at them (when not hiring them for command performances), but Roman law now protected mimes from the brutal exploitation that had been the norm for so long.

It could even be argued that the eventual end of state funding for Rome's theatres, and the end of civic theatre contracts, was a blessing in disguise; mimes could now be masters of their own fate. They had a greater sense of dignity, and brighter hopes for their children than would have been possible in the past. Dramaturgically speaking, this is a less-than-spectacular finish; but for those in the profession it would have been a significant improvement, hard-won and far too long in coming.

Whatever his motivations for doing so, Chorikios of Gaza provided his contemporaries a much-needed corrective to traditional elitist disdain and scandal-mongering. His defense of the acting profession opens the way to a more nuanced analysis of the theatres of Late Antiquity and their audiences. For him actors are not decadent sex-pots; they were craftsmen and human beings, a picture that comes far closer to the reality of the profession.[46]

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[46] As Hermann Reich, *Der Mimus: Ein literar-entwickelungsgeschichtlichen Versuch*, 2 vols. (Berlin, 1903), 1:222 noted: "our Sophist has already given the kernel of every argument" offered both before and since in defense of the acting profession.

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Przemysław Marciniak

Byzantine Mime: A Marginalized Profession?

This chapter focuses on the Middle and Late Byzantine periods because of the usual terminus set by the Council of Trullo (whose significance might have been overstated in earlier research)[1] and because, in these periods, mime in its ancient and late antique versions almost certainly ceased to exist. It is hard not to believe that an important paper by Franz Tinnefeld is partly responsible for popularizing the view that the canons of the Council of Trullo were the defining boundary in the history of Byzantine mime. Interestingly enough, Tinnefeld's paper was first delivered during a seminar on "Subkulturen in Byzanz." The author himself, somewhat reluctantly, labeled the Byzantine mime as belonging to a subculture. Although Tinnefeld is undoubtedly right in perceiving mimes as different, *others*, the notion of mimes as constituting a subculture is not tenable.[2] However, individuals described in the sources as mimes, performers, or similar figures appear to have constituted a distinct social group. Consequently, this chapter aims to discuss to what extent mimes could be seen, if at all, as a marginalized group within Byzantine society.

Forms of ancient entertainment in Byzantium experienced different developments: 1) they could cease to exist; 2) they could be incorporated into the new society's fabric; 3) ultimately, they may have been tacitly tolerated. Gladiatorial games were abolished soon after their institution as supposedly being too bloody (5th century).[3]

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[1] Franz Tinnefeld, "Zum profanem Mimos in Byzanz nach dem Verdikt des Trullanums (691)," *Byzantina* 6 (1974): 323–343.

[2] See, for instance, the classic definition of a subculture by Milton M. Gordon, "The Concept of the Sub-Culture and Its Application," *Social Forces* 26/1 (1947): 40–42: "a sub-division of a national culture, composed of a combination of factorable social situations such as class status, ethnic background, regional and rural or urban residence, and religious, affiliation, but forming in their combination a functioning unity which has a integrated impact on the participating individual." Even more modern definitions of a subculture as "an identifiable subgroup within a society or group of people, especially one characterized by beliefs or interests at variance with those of the larger group" (after the *Oxford English Dictionary*) do not apply in this case.

[3] See, for instance, *Codex Thedosianus* 15.10.12: "Cruenta spectacula in otio civili et domestica quiete non placent. Quapropter, qui omnino gladiatores esse prohibemus eos, qui forte delictorum causa hanc condicionem adque sententiam mereri consueverant, metallo magis facies inservire, ut sine sanguine suorum scelerum poenas agnoscant" (325); "Bloody spectacles displease Us amid public peace and domestic tranquility. Wherefore, since We wholly forbid the existence of gladiators, You shall cause those persons who, perchance, on account of some crime, customarily sustain that condition and sentence, to serve rather in the mines, so that they will assume the penalty for their crimes with-

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Chariot races survived well into the 12th century,[4] but no names of individual charioteers are known beyond the early Byzantine period, apart from a few isolated instances.[5] Though the Church was not particularly fond of chariot races, and early Byzantine preachers saw them as a competition, there were never attempts to ban the sport altogether. This was mainly because the Hippodrome and the races served as means to provide entertainment for the inhabitants of Constantinople and as venues for displaying political power and messages. Other kinds of performers experienced an entirely different fate—ancient mime and pantomime mostly disappeared (partly because some of them were openly anti-Christian)[6] and were subjected to a vehement critique by the Church Fathers, while canonical law was directed against scenic entertainment. There were attempts at banning mimes, but it is difficult to establish what kind of performances were prohibited and how successful these attempts were in the long run.[7]

Our knowledge of Byzantine performative practices, including mimes, is meagre.[8] Scholars use the designation "Byzantine mime" to describe its late antique/early Christian phase, which does not extend beyond the 6th to 7th centuries. Fragmented evidence in sources (historiography, hagiography, legal texts) make it impossible to (re) construct a reliable image of this social group.

As a consequence, students of Byzantine theatre have attempted to reconstruct Byzantine mime history by using evidence whose nature is too varied to say anything certain. Be that as it may, the available sources confirm the existence of various performers throughout the entire existence of Byzantium.[9] Byzantine mimes (perhaps

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out shedding their blood." *The Theodosian Code and Novels and the Sirmondian Constitutions*, trans. Clyde Pharr (Princeton, 1952), 436.

[4] Gilbert Dagron, "L'organisation et le déroulement des courses d'après le Livre des Cérémonies," *TM* 13 (2000): 5–101; Alan Cameron, *Circus Factions: Blues and Greens at Rome and Byzantium* (Oxford, 1976).

[5] See, for instance, poem no. 6 by Christopher of Mytilene, where he ridicules a charioteer called Jephtha (Although, as far as I am aware, it is not possible to determine whether this individual was real or fictitious).

[6] Costas Panayotakis, "Baptism and Crucifixion on the Mimic Stage," *Mnemosyne* 50/3 (1997): 302–319.

[7] According to Joshua Stylites, a Syrian chronicler, mimes were banned in 502. See Roger Scott, "Interpreting the Late Fifth and Early Sixth Centuries," in *Basileia: Essays on Imperium and Culture in Honour of E.M. Jeffreys and M.J. Jeffreys*, eds. Geoffrey Nathan and Lynda Garland, Byzantina Australiensia 17 (Leiden, 2011), 88.

[8] See, for instance, Walter Puchner, "Byzantinischer Mimos, Pantomimos und Mummenschanz im Spiegel der griechischen Patristik und ekklesiastischer Synodalverordnungen," *Maske und Kothurn* 29 (1983): 311–317; Przemysław Marciniak, "How to Entertain the Byzantines? Mimes and Jesters in Byzantium," in *Medieval and Early Modern Performance in the Eastern Mediterranean*, eds. Evelyn Birge Vitz and Arzu Öztürkmen (Turnhout, 2014), 125–149.

[9] Walter Puchner, who is perhaps too skeptical, is right in saying that a reliable reconstruction of Byzantine mime is impossible. See Walter Puchner, *The Crusader Kingdom of Cyprus: A Theatre Province of Medieval Europe. Including a Critical Edition of the Cyprus Passion Cycle and the 'Repraesentatio*

"performers" would be a more accurate term, as it also includes a group of entertainers often, though somewhat inaccurately, referred to as jesters) appear to have formed a very heterogeneous group. Their precise legal, fiscal, and social standing are shrouded in mystery. Both textual and visual sources project a picture that confirms the presence of various performers, but, at first glance, they say very little beyond that. It has been noted that mimes also took part in infamy parades, but their precise identity remains unclear. Were they professional actors, or simply individuals hired to mock the victims?[10] Visual sources regarding the costumes worn by mimes are unreliable and can be interpreted in various ways. Yet some scholars have attempted to identify the elements of such attire.[11] In her paper on acrobats, Victoria Kepetzi repeatedly observes that some of the characters depicted in manuscripts are dressed in "circus garments." However, this is a debatable statement (it is unclear what should be understood as such a garment and to what extent conventional depictions mirror reality at all).[12] While the possibility of defining a group (and especially a marginalized group) by using precise indicators (such as a garment) would be beneficial, the extant visual sources are rather unhelpful in this matter.

Another unsolvable problem is the terminology—Byzantine writers use a plethora of terms to describe entertainers. Zosimos (fl. 5th–6th centuries) uses the term μῖμοί γελοίων, thus underscoring the relationship between mimes and laughter.[13] The sources mention the terms such as μῖμος, σκηνικός, παιγνιωτής, γελωτοποιός, γελωτοπόνος, γελοιαστής, παίκτης. It seems that, for the most part, they use these interchangeably. For instance, Eustathios of Thessalonike, while discussing the stress in the word γελοῖον, makes the following remark "However, most people use γελοῖον with a circumflex on the penultimate, referring to a jester, that is a mime [. . .]."[14]

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figurata' of the Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple (Athens, 2006), 42–43: "It is not acceptable to construct out of this material, ritual mummery and martial dances such as the misinterpreted 'Gothikon' (tenth century), a continuous tradition of mime lasting till the halosis, the fall of Constantinople in 1453 [. . .]."

[10] Marc D. Lauxtermann, *Byzantine Poetry from Pisides to Geometres: Texts and Contexts, vol. 2*, Wiener Byzantinische Studien 24/2 (Vienna, 2019), 129–133.

[11] For a discussion on the attire of mimes/performers in the retinue of Michael III, see Eunice Maguire and Henry Maguire, *Other Icons: Art and Power in Byzantine Secular Culture* (Princeton, 2007), 112–113. In *On Those Who Insult Providence because of the Poverty*, Theodore Prodromos mentions midgets (*anthropiskoi*) disguised as black people with "ridiculous hair and even more ridiculous beard" who perform in theatres; *PG* 132, col. 1296.

[12] Victoria Kepetzi, "Scenes of Performers in Byzantine Art, Iconography, Social, and Cultural Millieu: The Case of Acrobats," in *Medieval and Early Modern Performance in the Eastern Mediterranean*, eds. Evelyn Vitz and Arzu Öztürkmen (Turnhout, 2014), 345–384.

[13] Zosimos, *New History*, ed. François Paschoud, *Histoire nouvelle*, vols. 1–3.2 (Paris, 1971–1989), 4.33. In fact, this is a very old expression, dating back to Demosthenes, *Olynth*. 2.19.7; see Demosthenes, *Orations*, ed. Samuel Henry Butcher, *Demosthenis orations*, vol. 1 (Oxford, 1903, repr. 1966).

[14] Eustathios of Thessalonike, ed. Martin van der Valk, *Eustathii archiepiscopi Thessalonicensis commentarii ad Homeri Iliadem pertinentes,* 4 vols. (Leiden, 1971–1991), 1:314.

Moreover, one Chalivoures mentioned by Niketas Choniates is in the same passage called μίμων ὁ χαριέστατος (“the most cheerful of the mimes”) and ὁ γελωτοποιός (“a jester”).[15] Perhaps it is also misleading to assume that throughout the centuries there was a clear and unchangeable division between various kinds of entertainers. However, to complicate matters even further, Psellos, in his hypomnema regarding the case of the dissolution of his adoptive daughter’s engagement to a certain Elpidios, makes a clear distinction between mimes and jesters (γελοιαστῶν μὲν καὶ μίμων).[16] In other words, “mime” became a term with a blurred meaning, signifying a generic performer, and Byzantine authors seem to have used this term quite freely. Moreover, it is more accurate to use general terms such as “performers,” since it would be difficult to specify an exact difference between various entertainers.

Equally unattainable is a reliable reconstruction of the precise mode of performance. Those who entertained people at fairs, religious festivals, and on the streets might have performed skits, attacking each other in an exaggerated and stylized way with comic slapstick.[17] Zonaras, when commenting on the fifty-first canon of the Council of Trullo, noted that mimes incited unseemly laughter with slaps to the head and loud noises.[18] The same information is repeated in his commentary on the forty-fifth canon of the Council of Carthage, which mentions performers (*skēnikoi*) who make people laugh with slaps to the head.[19] Canonists’ testimonies are supported by a fragment from Theodoros Prodromos’ satire *Amathes*, which describes what seems to be a performance of mimes:

> Ἤ πύθου μοι τῶν ἐπὶ σκηνῆς ὁπόσον ὑπέχουσι τὸν ἀγῶνα, ὡς αὐτοῖς ῥαπιζόμεναι ψοφεῖν ἐθισθεῖεν αἱ παπειαί καὶ ἡ φωνὴ νῦν θρενοῦντα, νῦν δὲ τὸ ἀπειλοῦντα, ἐνίοτε δὲ τὸν ἀνιώμενον ὑποκρίνοιτο, τά τε σφυρὰ καὶ οἱ πόδες εὐκατακλώμενοι καὶ καμπτόμενοι τῷ κόρδακι καὶ τὴν ἄλλην συνδιασκευάζοιεν ὄρχησιν.
>
> Or ask me about those who perform on the stage how much they endure the performance, how their cheeks, when slapped, became accustomed to making noise, how their voice at one moment imitates somebody wailing, at another somebody threatening and sometimes somebody grieving.

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15 Niketas Choniates, *History*, ed. Jan-Louis van Dieten, *Nicetae Choniatae Historia*, CFHB 11/1 (Berlin, 1975), 441–442.

16 Michael Psellos, *Legal Speeches*, ed. George T. Dennis, *Michaelis Pselli orationes forenses et acta* (Stuttgart, 1994), 4.109.

17 However, it is by no means certain if performances at the imperial or aristocratic courts differed very much.

18 *PG* 137, col. 693 (Zonaras uses exactly the same phrase in both texts). Similar information was handed down by Balsamon, in *PG* 138, col. 138.

19 *Σύνταγμα τῶν θείων καὶ ἱερῶν κανόνων τῶν τε ἁγίων καὶ πανευφήμων ᾿Αποστόλων καὶ τῶν ἱερῶν οἰκουμενικῶν καὶ τοπικῶν συνόδων*, eds. Georgios Rhalles and Michael Potles, 6 vols. (Athens, 1852–1856), 3:414.

> How their ankles and feet are well flexed and bent for *kordax* and how they prepare [every] other dance.[20]

And finally, these testimonies are corroborated by a passage from the *enkomion* penned by Nikephoros Kataphloron, which also mentions slapping in the forehead.[21] However, it seems that these descriptions are more than mere explanations of mimes' activities— there is also a hint of condemnation in them. In the *Vita St. Lucae Stylitae*, a passage recounts a story about a eunuch named Sergios and a mime. One day, their exchange of jokes and smacking led to a serious fight, which resulted in Sergios almost being killed.[22] According to Charis Messis, this story serves as a warning against jokes and mockery, for which eunuchs and their equivalents, mimes, had a marked inclination.[23] Although abuse and mockery were integral to Byzantine culture, the conduct of mimes—especially from the perspective of church writers—was seen as a striking example of excess that needed to be punished.

Much ink has been spilled to explain why early Christians treated theatre, actors, and mimes with disdain, if not hatred.[24] Understandably, the Middle and Late Byzantine periods' social, political, and religious circumstances were very different from earlier eras. Institutional theatre had ceased to exist centuries ago. Its remnants—street performers, dancers, jugglers, and musicians—were no longer any competition for the Church, and the extant sources do not mention any severe anti-religious accusations. What was left were concerns about the moral dangers that performers might pose to the viewers.[25] These accusations were centuries old and perpetuated not only by preachers: Zosimos, in his *New History*, underscored the relationship between mime, pantomime, and immorality (1.6; 4.33). Some time later, in the 6th century, Chorikios' speech in defense of the mime was triggered by similar accusations.[26] In the 12th century, Zonaras, when commenting on canon forty-five of the Council of Carthage, states that mimes and scenic performers should not be refused forgiveness (lit.

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[20] Theodore Prodromos, *Amathes or the Loves or an Old Man*, Gli scritti satirici. PhD Thesis, Tomasso Migliorini (Pisa, 2010), 32–33.

[21] Marina Loukaki, *Les Grâces à Athènes: Éloge d'un gouverneur byzantine par Nikolaos Kataphlôron* (Berlin, 2019), ch. 15, 116.

[22] *Vita St. Lucae Stylitae*, ch. 23, ed. Hippolyte Delehaye, *Les Saints Stylites* (Brussels, 1923, repr. 1989), p. 217.

[23] Charis Messis, *Les Eunuques À Byzance. Entre Réalité et Imaginaire* (Paris, 2014), 174: "L'exemple de Serge sert à mettre en garde contre les plaisanteries, les propos insensés, les blagues et les railleries, pour lesquels les eunuques et leurs équivalents, les mimes, avaient une inclination bien marquée."

[24] See, for instance, Ruth Webb, *Demons and Dancers: Performance in Late Antiquity* (Cambridge, 2008).

[25] See, for instance, Przemysław Marciniak, "Laughter on Display: Mimic Performances and the Danger of Laughing in Byzantium," in *Greek Laughter and Tears. Antiquity and After*, eds. Margaret Alexiou and Douglas Cairns (Edinburgh, 2017), 232–242.

[26] See Ruth Webb, "Rhetorical and Theatrical Fictions in Chorikios of Gaza," in *Greek Literature in Antiquity: Dynamism, Didactisim, Classicims*, ed. Scott Fitzgerald Johnson (Washington, D.C., 2006).

reconciliation); otherwise, their way of life could corrupt others.[27] This old prejudice resonates even more resoundingly in his commentaries on the Council of Trullo, when he states that actions of mimes "incite unseemly laughter and, so to speak, arise to Bacchic frenzy the simplest or the most unrefined people" (γέλωτας ἀπρεπεῖς κινοῦσι, καὶ οἷον *ἐκβακχεύουσι* τοὺς ἀφελεστέρους ἢ ἀπροσεκτοτέρους).[28] Interestingly enough, the above-mentioned passage from the *Vita St. Lucae* uses similar vocabulary when describing the fight between the eunuch and a mime (ὡς καὶ μέθῃ *βεβακχευμένος* οἰνοφλυγίας).[29] Mimes' jokes and mockeries could have dangerous, palpable effects. They are described in terms related to drunkenness, Bacchic frenzy, and frivolousness (which is symbolized by the dance *kordax* mentioned by Prodromos in the *Amathes*).[30] Mimes were dangerous both because they led sinful lives and because they could re-enact sinfulness in their performances.

Before any attempt to discuss the Byzantine mime's marginalization, the term "marginalization" should be defined. It also remains to be determined whether Byzantine mimes and other performers—including actors and entertainers—occupied a genuinely marginalized position within society. Although the discussion about exclusion/marginalization is relatively new, the process itself pre-dates its conceptualization.[31] Interestingly enough, defining "marginality" raises issues in many disciplines. The subject of marginalization can be construed as an object, action, or person that is not widely accepted and popular with the majority due to conflict with moral, religious, or political norms. Moreover, marginalization may elicit notions of being insignificant and unimportant. However, in a social context, marginality may signify something or somebody who is unimportant and barely ('marginally') tolerated by the rest of society; therefore, they are seen negatively and suppressed by the majority. Thus, marginalization does not equal complete rejection. In other words, marginal is always ". . . at the edge (fringes, border)" of something.[32] In light of this context, can one reasonably assume that mimes constituted a distinctly marginalized group? If by "marginalized" we understand a group that existed at the fringes of society and was tolerated but suppressed, it is possible to construe mimes/performers as marginalized.

The main problem is that Byzantine sources project a contradictory and incoherent image. On the one hand, mimes are usually described in derogatory language, and comparisons to mimes are used to ridicule a given person. A good example is Michael III's biography, where allusions to mimic imagery were meant to project a negative picture of the Emperor.[33] Similarly, a well-known passage from the life of the patriarch St. Euthymios (10th century) where Stylianos Zaoutzes, father of the second wife of Leo VI, bribes one of the mimes, Lampoudios, to attack the future patriarch with brutal insults, builds on stereotypes of mimes as being ready to speak/act out any lie or blasphemy.[34] On the other hand, performers are also portrayed in a positive light. *Patria of Constantinople* includes a story of mimes/jesters of the Hippodrome (οἱ παιγνιῶται τοὺ Ἱπποδρομίου) who helped a widow who was wronged by Theophilos' chamberlain Nikephoros.[35] In the *Vita St. Euthymi*, a performer (*skēnikos*) named Baannes (Vahan) suggests the location for a saint's monastery to the Emperor.[36] Interestingly enough, he is called Βαάννης, ὁ ἐξοχώτατος σκηνικός ("the most excellent performer"). Unlike the foul-mouthed Lampoudios, the other two performers in the *Vita* (Titlivakios and Baannes/Vahan) are not described in derogatory language.

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[27] Rhalles and Potles, *Σύνταγμα*, 3:414.

[28] Ralles and Potles, *Σύνταγμα,* 2:425.

[29] *Vita St. Lucae Stylitae*, ch. 23.

[30] On drunkenness and *kordax*, see Johannes Koder, "Kordax und Methe: Lasterhaftes Treiben in byzantinischer Zeit," *Zbornik Radova Vinatonolośkog Instituta* 50/2 (2013): 947–958.

[31] See, for instance, Stanko Pelc, "Marginality and Marginalization," in *Societies, Social Inequalities and Marginalization*, eds. Raghubir Chand, Etienne Nel and Stanko Pelc (Springer, 2017), 13–28.

[32] Pelc, *Marginality*, 13.

Nicholas de Lange, in a paper on Jews in Justinian's time, makes an interesting remark about laws concerning Jewry as "often marked by insulting language, which is an indication of the process of marginalization."[37] In their compilation of earlier laws, both Michael Psellos and Michael Attaleiates repeat that the testimony of a depraved person should be rejected (Μάρτυς ἐστὶν ἀπόβλητος πᾶς ὁ *διεφθαρμένος*), and these people include mimes, musicians, and animal fighters.[38] Performers are to be treated similarly to adulterers, sycophants, and thieves. Whether or not this still held true in the 11th century is of little relevance here. What is essential is the language used by both writers, which is unambiguously insulting.

While the canon commentaries' language is perhaps less aggressive, it often underscores that mimes, or at least some of them, were not particularly well-received.

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33 Jakov N. Ljubarskij, "Der Kaiser als Mime. Zum Problem der Gestalt des byzantinischen Kaisers Michael III," *JÖB* 37 (1987): 38–50; Ewald Kislinger, "Michael III. – Image und Realität," *EOS: Commentarii Societatis Philologae Polonorum* 75 (1978): 389–400.

34 *Vita St. Euthymii (Patr. 907–912)*, ed. and trans. Patricia Karlin-Hayter, *Byz* 25 (1955): 1–172, at 48–51: "[. . .] and Zaoutzes was so much enraged against Euthymios that he even urged actors who were, according to the custom, going into the royal dinner to say something against him: the first of them, whose name was Titlivakios, would not accept this evil proposal. But in the course of the dinner, such was the number of enormous and shocking insults that Lampoudios vomited from his ill-tempered heart against our blameless father that he made those dining that day with the emperor blush and the monarch angrily drove him out and dismissed him [. . .]."

35 *Patria of Constantinople*, ed. Thomas Preger, trans. Albrecht Berger, *Accounts of Medieval Constantinople: The Patria*, Dumbarton Oaks Medieval Library 24 (Washington, D.C., 2013), 3.28. This story also raises the question of who these performers were: members of a faction, or entertainers formally licensed to appear in the Hippodrome?

36 *Vita St. Euthymii*, ed. Karlin-Hayter, p. 27.

37 Nicholas de Lange, "Jews in the Age of Justinian," in *The Cambridge Companion to the Age of Justinian*, ed. Michael Maas (Cambridge, 2005), 420.

38 Michael Psellos, *Synopsis of the Laws*, ed. Leenhert Westerink, *Michaelis Pselli poemata* (Stuttgart, 1992), no. 8, 921–922; Michael Attaleiates, *Ponema Nomikon*, in *Jus Graecoromanum*, eds. Ioannes Zepos and Panagiotes Zepos, vol. 7 (Athens, 1931), 15.5–6.

Both Zonaras and Balsamon create a distinct but not an entirely clear opposition between honored and unhonoured performers (ἔντιμοι – ἄτιμοι).[39] Interestingly enough, both canonists seem to differ as to what kind of performers belong to which category. Balsamon's division is relatively straightforward: he juxtaposes various types of musicians with other sorts of performers who impersonate women, slaves, and commanders.[40] The former group is described as ἄτιμοι ("unhonoured"). Zonaras' argument seems to be more nuanced, as he differentiates between performers who are somehow legalized and can perform before the Emperor and those of lesser standing, performing at festivals, who are, again, ἄτιμοι.[41] While we know nothing about specific laws regarding performances, testimonies suggest that some mimes enjoyed privileges at the imperial court. A passage from the *Vita St. Euthymii* states that performers customarily went to the royal banquet (ἐν τῷ βασιλικῷ ἀρίστῳ ἐξ ἔθους εἰσιόντας σκηνικοὺς).[42] This must mean that performances of some sort took place at the imperial court and that mimes were accepted within the imperial setting. Mimes were stillpart of the imperial retinue three hundred years later, as Choniates states that Isaac Angelos did not bar mimes and musicians from the palace.[43] Lynda Garland has even claimed that court jesters formed a professional elite of mimes.[44] While this is probably true to some extent, such a claim remains impossible to verify. Moreover, as always, sources project conflicting images: it is accepted that one Denderis was a jester and/or mime at the court of Emperor Theophilos (though he is never described as such). Denderis is portrayed as a pitiful fellow (ἀνδράριον), not unlike Homer's Therisites, speaking unintelligibly (most likely having a speech impediment).[45] Even leaving aside the source’s hostility towards Denderis, it is difficult to see him as a successful performer (if he was one).

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[39] Rhalles and Potles, *Σύνταγμα*, 3:414.

[40] Musicians perhaps enjoyed slightly better social standing and greater acceptance. Nikos Maliaras compiled dozens of examples of illustrations of such musicians in his book. This stands in striking contrast to a number of illustrations of other performers. See Nikos Maliaras, *Βυζαντινά Μουσικά Όργανα* (Athens, 2007). Viktoria Kepetzi discussed the imagery of acrobats and especially *kontopaiktes* (pole-mounted acrobats) in Byzantine art, but many of her examples are initial letters shaped like acrobats. While it would be rather difficult to establish to what extent these illustrations reflect actual reality, they at least signal that acrobats must still have been part of Byzantine performative culture, and this is confirmed by textual sources as well. See Kepetzi, "Scenes of Performers," 345–384.

[41] Rhalles and Potles, *Σύνταγμα*, 3:414. See also Maroula Perisanidi, "Entertainment in the Twelfth-century Canonical Commentaries: Were Standards the Same for Byzantine Clerics and Laymen?," *BMGS* 38/2 (2014): 185–200, at 194–196.

[42] *Vita St. Euthymii*, ch. 7, 43.

[43] Niketas Choniates, *History*, 441. However, this time, mimes are mentioned together with parasites and knaves, so once again, they are a symbol of corruption.

[44] Lynda Garland, "Imperial Women and Entertainment," in *Byzantine Women: Varieties of Experience, 800–1200*, ed. Lynda Garland, Publications for the Centre for Hellenic Studies, King's College London 8, (Aldershot, 2006), 175–189, at 178.

[45] *Chronographiae quae Theophanis Continuati nomine fertur libri I–IV*, ed. and trans. Michael Featherstone and Juan Signes Codoñer, CFHB 53 (Boston, 2015), 4.6, at p. 132.

The usual discourse involving mimes/scenic performers projects negative images based on wide-spread prejudices and uses unflattering vocabulary. Kekaumenos, who expresses a mix of disdain and outright hostility toward mimes in his *Strategikon*, refers to them five times, and in each instance the term is used pejoratively. At some point in his *Consilia et narrationes* (3.116), he says:

> σὺ δέ, ἐάν σοι δέδωκεν ὁ Θεός, μὴ εἶ κνιπός, ἀλλ’ εὐμετάδοτος ἔσο συμμέτρως· πλὴν μὴ εἰς μίμους καὶ αἰσχρολόγους καὶ κόλακας, εἰς σεμνοὺς ἀνθρώπους, φίλους τε καὶ ὑστερημένους.[46]
>
> As for you, if God has given you anything, don’t be miserly, but be generous, with moderation; only, not to mimes, and foul-mouthed people, and flatterers, but to respectable men, friends, and those in need.

In this sentence, Kekaumenos juxtaposes three pairs of oppositions: “foul-mouthed people – friends,” “flatterers – those in need,” and finally “mimes – respectable people.” A similar view is expressed when the general describes mimes as unworthy of receiving honorific titles. Instead, they should be offered monetary gratification (if you wish to benefit [them], benefit them with a few coins, and not with honourable titles; for an honourable title, by its very name, points to honourable merit).[47] Therefore, mimes are perceived as not honorable, a descriptor that is deeply rooted in the Byzantine ‘mimic discourse.’

For Kekaumenos, mimes are not trustworthy because they are not serious. When Kekaumenos advises, “Don’t choose to be a public man; for you cannot be both a general and a mime,” he probably means that a person cannot be both funny and serious at the same time. Kekaumenos explains this himself: “The man who converses and laughs without discipline is despised and criticised as undisciplined.”[48] Kekaumenos, like many other Byzantine authors, criticizes uncontrollable and indecorous laughter. This is precisely the kind of laughter that resulted from mimic performances. Byzantine canonists, when discussing canons related to performances, always stress that performative laughter is improper.[49] Attaleiates, in his description of Constantine Monomachos, directly states that mimic entertainment is rooted in “the lower, corporeal part of the soul."[50] At the end of the Empire, Manuel II Palaiologos still evokes the same old prejudices when he notes in a letter to Makarios, former bishop of Ankyra, "This is living in sybaritic luxury, surrounded by obscenities uttered by parasites, mimes (μίμων ὀρχηστῶν), and dancers. So much for inciting laughter (γέλωτα ποιεῖν), assuming that the person being insulted should be capable of that."[51]

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[46] Greek text and translation after Kekaumenos, *Consilia et Narrationes*, ed., trans., and comm. Charlotte Roueché (SAWS [Sharing Ancient WisdomS] edition, 2013), https://ancientwisdoms.ac.uk/mss/viewer.html?viewColumns=greekLit%3Atlg3017.Syno298.sawsEng01%3Adiv1.o1&viewOffsets=82 (last accessed 20.05.2025).

[47] Kekaumenos, *Consilia et Narrationes*, 8: ἐὰν θέλῃς εὐεργετῆσαι, διὰ νομισμάτων ὀλίγων αὐτοὺς εὐεργέτει καὶ μὴ δι’ἀξιωμάτων· τὸ γὰρ ἀξίωμα ἀπ’αὐτοῦ τοῦ ὀνόματος εἰς τὸ ἄξιον δηλοῖ.

[48] Kekaumenos, *Consilia et Narrationes*.

[49] For a more detailed analysis, see Marciniak, “Laughter on Display.”

In a way, the history of Byzantine mimes is a victim of the dualism created by Church laws and literary tropes on the one hand and real life on the other. Church laws condemning, to a greater or lesser degree, mimic performances and inherited literary *topoi* project an image of the laughter-inciting mime, whose profession is to *imitate* and thereby to create lies.[52] Interestingly enough, in most stories, the presence of mimes is counterbalanced by the fact that what they do symbolizes something undesired and harmful. Lampoudios insults Euthymios, Monomachos' interest in mimes was a sign of his weak character, Chalivoures' well-known sexual joke, recorded by Niketas Choniates, is badly received by the Emperor.[53] Mimes and their behavior came to signify the margins of human behavior—corporeal, lower, uncontrollable urges such as laughter and buffoonery, which, as in the story about the eunuch Sergios, can ultimately lead to disaster. And yet, at the same time, sources confirm, as if

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50 Michael Attaleiates, *History*, ed. Inmaculada Pérez Martín, *Miguel Ataliates*, *Historia*, Nueva Roma 15 (Madrid, 2002), ch. 2.11; *The History Michael Attaleiates*, trans. Anthony Kaldellis, Dumbarton Oaks Medieval Library 16 (Washington, D.C., 2012), 85.

51 Manuel II Palaiologos, *Letters*, ed. G. T. Dennis, *Manuelis II Palaeologi Epistulae* (Washington, D.C., 1977), no. 65 (with my alteration).

52 See, for instance, the imagery of Stratokles, a character from Prodromos' dialogue *Amarantos or the Passions of an Old Man*, an older philosopher who marries a young girl and pretends to be someone he is not: a young groom. His extensive make-up and hair-cut make him look like a mime. This change not only conceals his age (which itself is a literary *topos*) but transforms him into mime, who performs and impersonates someone else, which underscores his lies and hypocrisy (Amarantos, the protagonist of the dialogue is deceived by Stratokles, whom he believed to be the real philosopher). The transformation of a "syllogizing philosopher" into a "mime" reveals the true character of Stratokles: he is a con-man. At first glance, Prodromos merely repeats old accusations and prejudices. Yet, the entire *Amarantos* is brimming with theatrical and dramatic vocabulary and imagery, and Prodromos uses these to express contemporary concerns and problems. In the *Amarantos*, the figure of a mime represents false teachers who only play/pretend to be philosophers. Prodromos conflates ancient prejudices regarding actors and his own contemporary preoccupations. For a fuller analysis of the issue of hypocrisy in Prodromos' writing, see Przemysław Marciniak, "It Is Not What It Appears to Be: A Note on Theodoros Prodromos' *Against a Lustful Old Woman*," *EOS: Commentarii Societatis Philologae Polonorum* 103 (2016): 109–115.

53 Niketas Choniates, *History*, 441; *O city of Byzantium. Annals of Niketas Choniates*, trans. Harry J. Magoulias (Detroit, 1984), 242: "Once at dinner Isaakios said, 'Bring me salt (ἅλας).' Standing nearby admiring the dance of the women made up of the emperor's concubines and kinswomen was Chalivoures, the wittiest of the mimes, who retorted, 'Let us first come to know these, O Emperor,' and then command others (ἄλλας) to be brought in. At this, everyone, both men and women, burst into loud laughter; the emperor's face darkened and only when he had chastened the jester's freedom of speech was his anger curbed."

incidentally, that mimes were to be found at the imperial court, at fairs, and on the streets, and that they could also exhibit positive qualities. This incoherence is continuously implied in the sources, but a full picture remains beyond our reach. The scarcity of the testimonies makes it impossible to formulate any decisive conclusions—ritual complaints recorded in Church documents both show the disdain towards performers and confirm their continuous presence. It is tempting to think that the frequent use of mimes as symbols of moral corruption would not make any sense if they had not been an everyday culture element. Unfortunately, as already said, we know nothing about this particular group's social structure, origins, and education. If we are to believe Choniates' testimony, Chalivoures must have been familiar with ancient Greek, as his joke is built on the similarity between the sounds of the words ἅλας (salt) and ἄλλας (others). In other words, people, whom we somewhat carelessly call mimes and jesters, might be very different in terms of their upbringing, social origins, and motivations. Already Spyridon Lambros in his pioneering article about Byzantine jesters pondered how certain men were chosen for this role.[54]

While it is reasonable to speak about the marginalization of mimes, perhaps it would be more helpful to see them as the *Others Within*. Performers (actors, mimes, and the like) became a group that both belonged and did not belong, rejected and stigmatized by some and partially socially excluded.[55] Byzantine mimes were (partly) tolerated but moved to the fringes of the society. And while it is difficult to describe them as a subculture in any meaning of this word, this group was certainly not seen, as we say today, as mainstream. It would be worthwhile to examine whether there is a consistent pattern in the way mimes are addressed—as individuals and as a nameless group. Individual mimes might be portrayed more positively (though there are clear exceptions, such as Lampoudios), whereas mimes as a group are almost always described in derogatory term. Perhaps a more careful reading of the extant sources will allow us to reconstruct the Byzantine mime's history and discover a more nuanced picture of people behind this label.

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[54] Spyridon Lambros, "Οἱ γελωτοποιοὶ τῶν Βυζαντινῶν αὐτοκρατόρων," *Neos Ellenomnemon* 7 (1910): 372–398, at 393.

[55] I follow here the definition of Yirmihay Yovel, *The Other Within. The Marranos. Split Identity and Emerging Modernity* (Princeton, 2009), xi.

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Part 4: **Tavernkeepers**

Ewald Kislinger, Despoina Ariantzi

Einrichtungen byzantinischer Gastlichkeit – zwischen *aselgeia* und *euergesia*

Als Kaiser Julian 362 von Konstantinopel ins nordsyrische Antiocheia zog, beauftrage er unterwegs in Galatien den heidnischen Oberpriester Arsakios, mit der weiteren Durchführung bereits eingeleiteter Werke der Wohltätigkeit. Dreißigtausend Modioi an Getreide und sechzigtausend Xestai Wein waren schon angekauft worden und sollten künftighin *xenoi* (was wohl Gäste im weiteren Sinn und nicht nur Fremde meint) und Bittstellern jährlich zugutekommen. Solches Tun sieht Julian als seit jeher der hellenischen Kultur eigen an, er zitiert diesbezüglich sogar ein Beispiel, ein zeitlich fernes aus Homer. Der aktuelle Anlass, solche Werke der Philanthropia zu propagieren, lag freilich in einer kürzlich erwachsenen Konkurrenz, welche der Kaiser auch anspricht.[1] Es sind die ruchlosen Galiläer, was die Anhänger des Christentums meint, welche laut Julian die Ihren, aber auch die Unseren (sc. die Anhänger des antiken Pantheons) betreuten. Tatsächlich hatte ersteren das Toleranzedikt von 311 ermöglicht, fortan frei von Verfolgungen die Fürsorge um den Bruder in Not (vgl. Matthäus 25:35–37) offen und weithin zu praktizieren, was neue Gläubige anzog. Julian ordnete jetzt an, in jeder Stadt *xenodocheia* einzurichten, die als Zentren der paganen Nächstenliebe dienen sollten. Die Wortwahl ist auffällig, denn der Begriff ist relativ neu und selten. Erstmals im 2. Jahrhundert belegt, konkret bei Artemidor für eine Gaststätte, begegnet er einem dann schon im Rahmen der christlichen Literatur in den apokryphen Apostelakten des Thomas.[2] Ob Julian nun auch terminologisch seinen Neubeginn verdeutlichen wollte und er auch hierin bei der Konkurrenz abkupferte, bedarf hier und jetzt keiner Entscheidung. Gregor von Nazianz hat in seiner zeitgenössischen Invektive gegen Julian klar dessen karitative Initiative als Plagiat kritisiert. Er gebraucht dabei mit dem generischen *katagogion* (Einkehrort, Absteige) und dem altbekannten *xenon* (antik für Gastgemach bzw. Gästehaus) andere Termini statt *xenodocheion*, obwohl insgesamt das Christentum die klare Linie erkennen lässt, auch in den Bezeichnungen seiner Einrichtungen sich vom Angebot der heidnischen Antike abzugrenzen.[3]

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[1] Sozomenos, *Historia ecclesiastica*, 5.16, Z. 9–10, hrsg. Joseph Bidez und Günter C. Hansen (Berlin, 1995), p. 218; Kaiser Julian, *ep.* 84, hrsg. Joseph Bidez and Franz Cumont (Paris, 1922), 113–115. Ewald Kislinger, „Kaiser Julian und die (christlichen) Xenodocheia," in *Βύζαντιος: Festschrift für Herbert Hunger zum 70. Geburtstag*, hrsg. Wolfram Hörandner, Johannes Koder, Otto Kresten und Erich Trapp (Wien, 1984), 171–184.

[2] *Artemidori Daldiani Onirocriticon Libri V*, hrsg. Roger A. Pack (Leipzig, 1963), 14, Z. 3–4; Acta Thomae, hrsg. Maximilien Bonnet, Acta Apostolorum Apochrypha 2/2 (Leipzig, 1903, repr. Darmstadt, 1959), 99–291.

[3] Gregor von Nazianz, in *PG* 35, Oratio 44, 607–622, hier 609C.

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Die byzantinische Welt der institutionalisieren Gastlichkeit ist zweigeteilt, was wir im Titel etwas zugespitzt zum Ausdruck bringen wollten: fortan besteht erstens der christliche Sektor, der *euergesia* gewidmet, mit eben *xenodocheion*[4] (Herberge), *ptochotropheion* (Armenhaus), *gerokomeion* (Altenheim) als wichtigsten Vertretern und der einzigen Übernahme aus antikem Wortgut, nämlich *xenon*, allerdings in sich wandelnder Bedeutung zum Hospital (parallel zum terminologisch neuen *nosokomeion*).[5]

Im Kontrast – en detail schon abzulesen aus der Geschichte im Lukas-Evangelium von barmherzigen Samariter und dem dann nur gegen Bezahlung sekundär helfenden Wirt – bestand das antike Erbe fort mit *kapeleion* (Wirtshaus) und *pandocheion* (Herberge) als Hauptvertretern,[6] ergänzt um *Taberna* als Lehnwort sowie *katharopotion* und *phouskarion* als reinen Schankbetrieben.[7] Allesamt negativ eingestuft (*aselgeia* speziell aus Sicht der Gegner) und offiziell marginalisiert sind sie funktionsmäßig mit anderen Außenseitergruppen verbunden, speziell den Prostituierten,[8] die auch dort ihrem Gewerbe nachgehen[9] und den Mimen. Das Gast*gewerbe*, was unterstrichen werden muss, bietet ein kommerzielles Offert, gleich dem der beiden anderen Gruppen, die dieser Band aufgrund der wechselseitigen Verflechtung gemeinsam untersucht. Zusammen ergeben sie gleichsam eine unheilige Trias, wobei die Gastwirte leicht im Vorteil sind. Sie haben feste Standorte, sind in den großen Städten, besonders in Marktgegenden und an den Häfen vertreten, ebenso in regionalen Zentren (darüber noch später), sogar auf dem offenen Land entlang der Verkehrsadern, in Nachfolge der mansiones und mutationes (griechisch *stathmoi* und *allagai*) des antiken *cursus publicus*.[10]

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[4] Konstantina Mentzou-Meimari, „Ἐπαρχιακά εὐαγῆ ἱδρύματα μέχρι τοῦ τέλους τῆς εἰκονομαχίας,“ *Byzantina* 11 (1982): 243–308; Carolina Cupane und Ewald Kislinger, „Xenon und Xenodocheion im spätbyzantinischen Roman,“ *JÖB* 36 (1986): 201–206. Max Ritter, *Zwischen Glaube und Geld: Zur Ökonomie des byzantinischen Pilgerwesens*, Byzanz zwischen Orient und Okzident 14 (Mainz, 2019), 96–103; Max Ritter, „Wohltätige Fremdenherbergen in byzantinischer Zeit: *Xenodocheia* und ihre Vorsteher (5.–12. Jh.),“ in diesem Band.

[5] Anne Philipsborn, „Der Fortschritt in der Entwicklung des byzantinischen Krankenhauswesens,“ *BZ* 54 (1961): 338–365; Ewald Kislinger, „Xenon und Nosokomeion: Hospitäler in Byzanz,“ *Historia Hospitalium* 17 (1986–1988): 7–16; Ewald Kislinger, „Hospitals,“ in *History and Culture of Byzantium*, Brill's New Pauly, hrsg. Falko Daim (Leiden, 2019), 469–471. Siehe auch Demetrios J. Constantelos, *Byzantine Philanthropy and Social Welfare*, 2. Auflage (New Rochelle, NY, 1991) sowie Timothy S. Miller, *The Birth of the Hospital in the Byzantine Empire*, 2. Auflage (Baltimore, 1985, 1997) [Einwände dazu bei Ewald Kislinger, „Der Pantokrator-Xenon, ein trügerisches Ideal?,“ *JÖB* 37 (1987): 173–174].

[6] Zu Gastgewerbe in der Antique und in Byzanz: Tonnes Kleberg, *Hotels, Restaurants et Cabarets dans l´antiquité romaine*, Bibliotheca Ekmaniana 61 (Uppsala, 1957); Karl Kromer, *Römische Weinstuben in Sayala*, Denkschriften/Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-Historische Klasse 95 (Graz, 1967); Phaidon Koukoules, *Βυζαντινῶν Βίος καὶ Πολιτισμός*, 6 Bde., Collection de l' Institut Français d' Athènes 73 (Athen, 1948–1956), 2/1:128–140, 164–174, 193–195; Ewald Kislinger, *Gastgewerbe und Beherbergung in frühbyzantinischer Zeit. Eine realienkundliche Studie aufgrund hagiographischer und historiographischer Quellen*, PhD Thesis (Wien, 1982); Ewald Kislinger, „Kaiser Julian und die (christlichen) Xenodocheia“; Ewald Kislinger, „Taverne, alberghi e filantropia ecclesiastica a Bisanzio,“ *Atti della Accad. delle Scienze di Torino, Cl. sc. mor., stor. e filol.* 120 (1986): 84–96; Ewald Kislinger, „Gasthaus im byzantinischen Reich,“ in *Lexikon des Mittelalters* 4:1134–1136, hier 1135; Mentzou-Meimari, „Ἐπαρχιακά εὐαγῆ ἱδρύματα,“ 243–308; Harry J. Magoulias, „Bathhouse, Inn, Tavern, Prostitution and the Stage as seen in the Lives of the Saints of the Sixth and Seventh Centuries,“ *EEBS* 38 (1971): 233–252; Spyros Troianos, „Καπηλεία και εγκληματικότητα στον κόσμο του Βυζαντίου,“ in *Essays in Honor of Professor C. D. Spinellis*, hrsg. Maria Galanou (Athen, 2010), 1285–1300; Apostolos Karpozilos, „Περὶ τῶν περιπατούντων εἰς καπηλεῖα καὶ καταγώγια,“ *Hellenika* 61/1 (2011): 33–46.

[7] Zur Terminologie über Wirtshaus, Beherbergung, taberna, caupona, stabulum, pandocheion und über caupo, stabularius, stabularia, domina tabernae, domina caupona, kapelos und pandocheus in der römischen und byzantinischen Zeit siehe Kislinger, *Gastgewerbe*, 26–50; Kleber, *Hotels*, passim.

Helena, die Mutter von Konstantin dem Großen, war in ihrer Jugend in diesem Bereich beschäftigt, als stabularia, wobei der Zusatz bona[11] sehr signifikant ist und dazu diente, sie von weniger guten und ehrenwerten Kolleginnen zu differenzieren, was ihre spätere Karriere erforderte. Christus habe sie erhöht, schreibt Ambrosius, wie er den Bettler von der Erde erhob und den Armen aus dem Dung, was eher ungewollt die stabularia gemeinhin gesellschaftlich weit unten einordnet. Ob der Dung des Psalmenzitats (Nr. 112) im konkreten Fall sogar eine Anspielung auf den Stall bedeutet, wie Timothy Barnes vermutet, sei dahingestellt.[12]

Ein vergleichbares Beispiel aus dem frühen 7. Jahrhundert gibt Maria ab, die im westlichen Kleinasien mit Mutter und Schwester ein *pandocheion* führte, das dem Reisenden nicht nur gutes Essen und Pferde zum Wechseln offerierte, sondern auch das persönliche Service der weiblichen Angestellten. Aus einen solchen one-night-stand der Maria resultierte ihr Sohn Theodoros, für den die Mutter eine weltliche Karriere in Konstantinopel plante, war der Vater doch kaiserlicher Kurier.[13] Solche Pläne zerschlugen sich bald, indem eine nächtliche Heiligenerscheinung Maria offenbarte, es sei der himmlische Basileus, der Theodoros brauche. Statt beim irdischen porphyrogennetos reussierte Theodoros im Bereich des zweiten Leitbildes der byzantinischen Gesellschaft, als Heiliger. Sein entsagungsvoller Weg dorthin überzeugte Gläubige und Gesellschaft, nur den Dämonen, die er häufig austreibt, wird es klagend in den Mund gelegt, dass ausgerechnet ein pornogennetos (Hurenspross) über sie obsiege.[14] Theodoros hat diese verächtliche Bezeichnung – erstaunlich, aber doch – mit Konstantin dem Großen gemein, so explizit freilich nur in der Passio des Heiligen Eusignios.[15] Bewusst im Verhör durch den heidnischen Julian äußert Eusignios vor Konstantin, einem von dessen Vorgängern, Respekt, weil er zum wahren Glauben fand, wenngleich seine Mutter Helena in einem *pandocheion* zu verorten ist und dort geschwängert wurde.[16] Wenn schon nicht der oder die Heilige selbst aus dem Milieu stammte, hat die Hagiographie des Öfteren Außenseiter zu involvierten Personen, was verständlich ist, denn ebendiese sind tief in Sünde verstrickt, ein ideales Subjekt der Bekehrung, was zudem wirklichkeitsnah und etwas frivol-anziehend für das breite Lese- und Hörpublikum der didaktischen Bioi wirkte.

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[8] Zur Prostitutiton in Byzanz: Koukoules, *Βυζαντινῶν Βίος καὶ Πολιτισμός*, 2:117–162; Hans Herter, „Die Soziologie der antiken Prostitution im Lichte des heidnischen und christlichen Schrifttums," *Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum* 3 (1960): 70–111; Ewald Kislinger, „Prostitution/Byzanz," *Lexikon des Mittelalters* 7 (1995), Sp. 267–269, hier 268–269; Stavroula Leontsini, *Die Prostitution im frühen Byzanz*, Dissertationen der Universität Wien 194 (Wien, 1989); Claudine Dauphin, „Brothels, Baths and Babes. Prostitution in the Byzantine Holy Land," *Classics Ireland* 3 (1996): 47–72; Thomas McGinn, *The Economy of Prostitution in the Roman World. A Study of Social History and Brothels* (Ann Arbor, 2004); Avshalom Laniado, „L'Empereur, la prostitution et le proxénétisme – droit Romain et morale chrétienne à Byzance," in *Le prince chrétien de Constantin aux royautés barbares (IVe–VIIIe siècle)*, hrsg. Sylvain Destephen, Bruno Dumézil und Hervé Inglebert, *TM* 22/2 (2018): 49–97; Gary Leiser, *Prostitution in the Eastern Mediterranean World. The Economics of Sex in the Late Antique and Medieval Middle East* (London, 2019); Despoina Ariantzi, „Byzantinische Prostituierte. Zwischen Marginalisierung und Reintegration in die Gesellschaft," *Byz* 91 (2021): 1–45.

[9] Ioannis Zonarae, *Lexicon*, hrsg. Johann August H. Tittmann, 2 Bde. (Leipzig, 1808; repr. Amsterdam, 1967), 1844: Χαιμαιτυπεῖον, καπηλεῖον ἢ οἴκημα ἐν ὧ είσὶν αἱ πόρναι.

[10] Kislinger, *Gastgewerbe*, 42, n. 140. Zum *cursus publicus* siehe Anne Kolb, *Transport und Nachrichtentransfer im Römischen Reich*, Klio, Beiträge zur Alten Geschichte, Beihefte N. F. Band 2 (Berlin, 2000).

[11] Ambrosius Mediolanensis, *Orationes Funebres I: In psalmum 61/De obitu Gratiani/De consolatione Valentiniani/De obitu Valentiniani/De obitu Theodosii* 42, hrsg. Victoria Zimmerl-Panagl, Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum, 106 (Berlin, 2021), 238. Vgl. Jan Willem Drijvers, *Helena Augusta: The Mother of Constantine the Great and her Finding of the True Cross* (Leiden, 1997).

[12] Timothy David Barnes, *Constantine. Dynasty, Religion and Power in the Later Empire*, Blackwell Ancient Lives (Chichester, 2014, 1. Auflage 2011), 32; vgl. Drijvers, *Helena Augusta*, 15.

Im Extremfall verliert der hagiographische Held jedwede Distanz zur Welt, die er ansonsten aus überhöhter Position läutern soll, er taucht vielmehr in sie ein, was den Kontakt gerade zu Außenseitern erleichtert. Ein heiliger Symeon tritt mit je einer Dirne links und rechts im Arm auf, unterhält ein anderes Mal, während er (verdünnten) Wein in einem *kapeleion* serviert, die Gäste, mit denen er auch tanzt.[17] Agomen, piomen, opou o Salos (wohlan, gehen wir zum Narren trinken) sagen jene zueinander, was einem vermittelt, dass besagter Symeon zur Kategorie der Narren in Christo gehört.[18] Sie alle haben in langen Jahren der Askese zuvor die *apatheia* erreicht, sind daher für die Leidenschaften und Versuchungen des Diesseits unempfindlich und können fortan zur Tarnung einen närrischen Heiligen abgeben. Das setzt Symeon und Co. der Verachtung der Frommen aus, was sie wiederum gewollt in Demut ertragen.

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[13] *Life of Theodore of Sykeon*, Kap. 3, Z. 11–19, hrsg. André-Jean Festugière, *Vie de Théodore de Sykéon*, Bd. 1, Subsidia Hagiographica 48 (Brüssel, 1970). Zur Empfängnis von Theodoros Sykeon siehe Despoina Ariantzi, *Kindheit in Byzanz. Emotionale, geistige und materielle Entwicklung im familiären Umfeld vom 6. bis zum 11. Jahrhundert*, Millennium-Studien 36 (Berlin, 2012), 216.

[14] *Life of Theodore of Sykeon*, Kap. 84, Z. 15–21, hrsg. Festugière, p. 71. Zur Marginalisierung Theodoros' von Sykeon bzw. der Nachwuchs von Prostituierten und Wirten siehe Ariantzi, „Byzantinische Prostituierte," 20–21.

[15] Paul Devos, „Une recension nouvelle de la Passion grecque BHG 639 de saint Eusignios," *AB* 100 (1982): 209–228, hier 218.

[16] Passio des Heiligen Eusignios, hrsg. Devos, 219–222: Konstantins Abstammung wird Jahre danach an einem purpurgefärbten Oberkleid erkannt, das sein Vater zurückgelassen hatte. Eine Vita sodann direkt über Konstantin (*BHG* 365n, überliefert in einer Handschrift aus Patmos, hrsg. François Halkin, „Une nouvelle Vie de Constantin dans un légendier de Patmos," *AB* 77 (1959): 63–107, hier 75, erzählt das Geschehen ziemlich unverändert, aber bereits ohne das pejorative pornogennetos (s. Alexander P. Kazhdan, „"Constantin Imaginaire" Byzantine Legends of the Ninth Century about Constantine the Great," *Byz* 57 [1987]: 196–250, hier 213), liefert recht ungeschickt den Kontext eines Feldzuges gegen die Perser und auf dem Anmarsch das Pandocheion in Drepanon, späterhin Helenopolis in Bithynien. Dazu Cyril Mango, „The Empress Helena, Helenopolis, Pylae," *TM* 12 (1994): 143–158, hier 148, was insgesamt auch örtlich eine Parallele zu Theodoros Sykeotes ergäbe.

Uns aber vermittelt ihr Treiben wie das Symeons zu Emesa[19] (dem heutigen Homs) das Bild einer typischen Kleinstadt mit der selbstverständlichen Präsenz von Außenseitern.[20] Das Gastgewerbe war an solchen Orten stark vertreten, epigraphische Zeugnisse e.g. aus dem isaurischen Korykos dokumentieren wieder frühbyzantinisch insgesamt 18 *kapelo*i, erstaunlich viel gegenüber 13 Bäckern, die doch ein Grundnahrungsmittel produzierten; fünf *pandocheis* letztlich passen quantitativ gut zum Bedarf eines Hafenortes.[21]

Zumindest noch in frühbyzantinischer Zeit unterscheidet man zumindest in Korykos[22] das Gastgewerbe von Prostituierten und Mimen.[23] Letztere haben landesweit mit dem Theater ihren typischen Standort eingebüßt, wirkten fortan als Pausenfüller im Zirkus mit, fanden Nischen als Spaßmacher[24] am kaiserlichen Hof oder unterhielten öffentlich bei Festen mit simplen Sketches, aufreizenden Tänzen und wohl obszönen Liedern die Anwesenden (allerdings äußert sich bereits Chorikios von Gaza trotz seiner Apologia mimorum dazu sehr zurückhaltend).[25] In summa sind die Mimen jene Gruppe von den drei, welche am meisten zurückgedrängt wurde und ihr Angebot verändern musste. Gleiches verbot sich rein technisch bei den Prostituierten weitgehend, die aber ihr Betriebskapital in sich verkörperten und in den Berufsorten flexibel waren, sofern sie nicht über eigene Bordelle verfügten. Ihr Offert war allerdings das von den gesellschaftlichen Normen her Anstößigste, alters- und gesundheitsabhängig, aber stetig nachgefragt.

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[17] *Das Leben des heiligen Narren Symeon von Leontios von Neapolis*, hrsg. Lennart Rydén, Studia Graeca Upsaliensia 4 (Uppsala, 1963), p. 154, Z. 27–28 – p. 155, Z. 1–18. Mehr dazu Ariantzi, „Byzantinische Prostituierte,“ 30–32.

[18] Siehe dazu Sergey A. Ivanov, *Holy Fools in Byzantium and Beyond* (Oxford, 2006) mit weiterer Literatur; *Holy Fools and Divine Madmen. Sacred insanity through Ages and* Cultures, hrsg. Albrecht Berger und Sergey Ivanov, Münchner Arbeiten zur Byzantinistik 2 (Neiried, 2018); Lennart Rydén, „The Holy Fool,“ in *The Byzantine Saint. The Byzantine Saint. University of Birmingham Fourteenth Spring Symposium of Byzantine S*tudies, hrsg. Sergei Hackel (Birmingham, 1981), 106–113; Ewald Kislinger, „Symeon Salos’ Hund,“ *JÖB* 38 (1988): 165–170.

[19] Vita des Symeon Salos, hrsg. Rydén (fn. 17); Lennart Rydén, *Bemerkungen zum Leben des Heiligen Narren Symeon von Leontios von Neapolis*, Acta Universitatis Uppsaliensis, Studia Graeca Upsaliensia, 6 (Uppsala, 1970).

[20] Siehe dazu Julie Van Pelt, „On the Margins of Sanctity: Prostitutes, Actors, and Tavernkeepers in Greek Hagiography“ in diesem Band.

[21] Monumenta Asiae Minoris Antiqua (= MAMA), Bd. 3: *Denkmäler aus dem rauhen Kilikien*, hrsg. Josef Keil und Adolf Wilhelm (Manchester, 1931), Nr. 209, 234, 240, 279, 296, 370b, 396, 439, 456, 474, 490, 509, 560, 599, 603.653, 677, 738; zu Nr. 495 vgl. Konstantina P. Mentzou, *Συμβολαὶ εἰς τὴν μελέτην του οἰκονομικοῦ καὶ κοινωνικοῦ βίου τῆς πρωίμου βυζαντινῆς περιόδου, Ἡ προσφορὰ τῶν ἐκ Μ. Ἀσίας καὶ Συρίας Ἐπιγραφῶν καὶ Ἁγιολογικῶν κειμένων* (Athen, 1975), 128–133.

[22] Kislinger, *Gastgewerbe*, 41, N.133.

[23] Zu Mimen in Byzanz: Franz Tinnefeld, „Zum profanen Mimos in Byzanz nach dem Verdikt des Trullanums (691),“ *Byzantina* 6 (1974): 323–343; Walter Puchner, „Byzantinischer Mimos, Pantomimos und Mummenschanz im Spiegel der griechischen Patristik und ekklesiastischer Synodalverordnungen. Quellenkritische Anmerkungen aus theaterwissenschaftlicher Sicht,“ *Maske und Kothurn* 20 (1983): 311–317; Przemyslaw Marciniak, „Theatre that did not exist: Byzantine Theatre and Performance,“ in *Byzantium as seen by itself and by the others*, hrsg. V. Vatchkova and Tz. Stepanov (Sofia, 2007), 177–188; Ruth Webb, *Demons and Dancers. Performance in the late Antiquity* (Cambridge, MA, 2008); Przemyslaw Marciniak, „The Byzantine Performative Turn,“ in *Within the Circle of Ancient Ideas and*

Für Gastwirte eröffnete das ein zusätzliches Geschäftsfeld, bevorzugt in den *pandocheia* mit Fremdenzimmern, wenn vom Umfeld, insbesondere vom Auge des Gesetzes her, toleriert. Während einer Schiffsfahrt im 11. Jahrhundert unterhielt ein zweifelhafter Asket die Mitreisenden mit seinem Wissen über Gasthäuser und Bordelle zu Konstantinopel. Er dozierte, wer von den Gastwirtinnen der Hauptstadt auch Dirnen im Angebot habe, welche auch selbst solchem Treiben nachgehe.[26]

Die beschriebene Sachlage entspricht faktisch der nur bei Andreas Salos vorkommenden Berufsbezeichnung eines *pornokapelos*.[27] Zugleich deckt sie sich mit dem auf Ulpian zurückgehenden Vorgehen des römischen Rechts, "si qua cauponam exercens in ea corpora quaestuaria habeat",[28] mit dem Zusatz, "ut multae adsolent", unter dem Vorwand "instrumenti cauponii ...",[29] was aber ebenso auf Unterschiede von Lokal zu Lokal hindeutet. Der *kapelos* als Zuhälter (*leno*, *pornoboskos*)[30] überschritt gesetzlich

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Virtues. Studies in Honour of Professor Maria Dzielska, hrsg. Kamilla Twardowska et. al. (Krakow, 2014), 423–430; Przemyslaw Marciniak, „How to entertain the Byzantines: Some remarks Mimes and Jesters in Byzantium," in *Medieval and Early Modern Performance in the Eastern Mediterranean*, hrsg. Evelyn Birge Vitz und Arzu Öztürkmen (Turnhout, 2014), 125–149. Zur Marginalisierung des Schauspielers siehe die Beiträge von Przemyslaw Marciniak und Andrew W. White in diesem Band.

[24] Spyridon Lambros, „Oi gelotopoioi ton Byzantinon autokratoron," *Neos Ellenomnemon* 7 (1910): 372–398.

[25] Chorikios von Gaza: Choricius, *Apologia Mimorum* 1, hrsg. Richard Foerster und Eberhardus Richtsteig (Stuttgart, 1972); *Χορικίου Σοφιστοῦ Γάζης, Συνηγορία Μίμων*, hrsg. Ioannes Stephanes (Thessaloniki, 1986).

[26] *Michael Psellus Epistulae*, Nr. 219, Z. 585–586, Bd. I., hrsg. Stratis Papaioannou, Bibliotheca Scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana 2030 (Berlin, 2019). Dazu Ariantzi, „Byzantinische Prostituierte," 24–25.

[27] *The Life of St. Andreas the Fool I: Text, translation and notes, appendices*, hrsg. Lennart Rydén, Studia Byzantina Upsaliensia 4; Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis (Uppsala, 1995), p. 166, Z. 2369; p. 236, Z. 3478.

[28] D.23.2.43.9.

[29] B.28.4.13,9.

[30] Vgl. D.3.2.4.2.

eine rote Linie, welche gewiss im alltäglichen Geschäft weniger markant war, was ihn dennoch legal vom suspekten Außenseiter zum Kriminellen machte. Den Schankmädchen selbst räumte immerhin ein Edikt von Konstantin dem Großen[31] das Recht zur Gelegenheitsprostitution ein, eine Scheinliberalität, erwachsen aus Verachtung, denn ihre vilitas vitae stellte die ministrae außerhalb des Rechts. Wie freiwillig ihr Handeln wirklich war, sei dahingestellt, wahrscheinlich eröffnete sich so für den caupo eine Hintertür. Offen bleibt ebenso, ob die deversoria, in denen *lenones* laut Novelle 14 des Justinian ihre jugendlichen Opfer feilboten,[32] mitunter prope loca sacra, auch Gasthäuser gewesen sein könnten. Insgesamt treffen wir hier auf eine Grauzone, was – positiv formuliert – zur Flexibilität des Gastgewerbes passt, die zu seinem Überleben beitrug.

Das Kerngeschäft von Speis und Trank war grundsätzlich gesellschaftsfähig. Bei Panegyreis,[33] das meint lokale bis regionale Kirchenfeste mit kommerzieller Komponente, gab es – neudeutsch gesagt – einen Catering-Bereich. Bei den Zelten der *kapelo*i und Köche trieb sich so mancher Kaufmann herum, gab sein Geld für Trinken und Völlerei aus.[34] Die Wirte bildeten sogar eine der hauptstädtischen Berufsvereinigungen und finden sich in den diesbezüglichen Verordnungen des Eparchenbuches (frühes 10. Jahrhundert) gleich Bäckern, Gemischtwarenhändlern, Wachsziehern, Juwelieren und diversen Erzeugern und Händlern von Seidenwaren. Der Abschnitt 19 *Peri Kapelon* (Über die Wirte) umfasst nur vier Paragraphen und zählt zu den kürzesten des Werkes. Absent ist jedweder Bezug zur Prostitution, da diese ja offiziell nicht zum Metier gehörte. Geregelt werden hingegen die Preisfestsetzung beim Wein, die geeichten Gefäße für die Ausschank, unlautere Konkurrenz zwischen Betreibern, die Schließzeiten an Feier- und Sonntagen und die Sperrstunde abends. Brach sie an, musste das Feuer unter den Kesseln gelöscht werden, in denen Wasser erhitzt wurde, um damit den Wein zu verdünnen. Das Beigeben des gewärmten Wassers bildete sogar eine spezielle Tätigkeit, die des thermodotes.[35] Auf diese Weise werde vermieden, dass „diejenigen, die gewohnt sind, dort zu verkehren, den ganzen Tag dort verbringend (diemereuontes), auch während der Nacht wiederum von Wein im Übermaß genießen und ungehemmt in Raufereien, Gewalttätigkeiten und Zwistigkeiten verfallen“.[36]

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[31] Überliefert in *CTh* 9.7.1, hrsg. Mommsen.

[32] Just. Nov. 14, 5–10, 22–24, 28–42, in *Corpus Iuris Civilis*, Bd. 3: *Novellae*, hrsg. Rudolf Schoell und Guilelmus Kroll (Berlin, 1895; repr. 1972). Der Kaiser verbietet durch die Novelle 14 endgültig jede Kuppelei, jede Duldung dieses Gewerbes durch Hausbesitzer, deren Häuser als Bordelle verwendet werden, sowohl in der Hauptstadt und Umgebung als auch im ganzen Reich. Die Kuppler werden mit härtesten Strafen bedroht, die Hausbesitzer mit der Geldstrafe von zehn Pfund Gold und Enteignung ihres Hauses.

[33] Ewald Kislinger, „Pilger und Panegyreis: zwischen Kult und Kommerz," in *Für Seelenheil und Lebensglück: Das byzantinische Pilgerwesen und seine Wurzeln*, hrsg. Despoina Ariantzi und Ina Eichner, Byzanz zwischen Orient und Okzident 10 (Mainz, 2018), 359–366.

[34] Angeliki, Laiou, „Händler und Kaufleute auf dem Jahrmarkt," in *Fest und Alltag in Byzanz*, hrsg. Günter Prinzing und Dieter Simon (München, 1990), 53–70, hier 65.

[35] Siehe dazu Ewald Kislinger, „Θερμοδότης – ein Beruf ?," *Klio* 68 (1986): 123–127.

Abgesehen davon, dass nicht einmal erwogen wurde, die Zecher könnten stattdessen den Wein auch ungemischt (*akraton*) konsumieren, rückt hier die Kundschaft in den Fokus. Stammgäste den Tag über begegnen einem ebenfalls im Geschichtswerk des Niketas Choniates. Als die Terrorherrschaft des Andronikos I. Komnenos 1185 zu Ende gekommen und dieser reaktiv tagelangen Misshandlungen ausgesetzt war, vergriff sich schließlich der gesellschaftliche Bodensatz am schon grausam Verstümmelten.[37] Niketas Choniates nennt speziell Wurstverkäufer, Gerber und eben viele von den in den Wirtshäusern diemereuontes.

Das negative Image der Gäste – das *kapeleion* war eben kein elitärer Treffpunkt – färbte mit auf die Betreiber der Kneipen ab, die ohnehin um ihren schlechten Ruf schon seit der Antike nicht zu bangen hatten. In extremis wurden sie sogar beschuldigt, Gäste durch Falltüren verschwinden zu lassen und fortan als Sklaven zu halten, sie in anderen Fällen sogar zu ermorden, um die Opfer sodann neuen Besuchern zum Mahl vorzusetzen, wie bei Galen und erneut in den Miracula Sancti Georgii aus dem 10. Jahrhundert nachzulesen ist.[38] Wirte und Klientel werden immer wieder in Rechtstexten des Diebstahls an anderen Gästen und der Veruntreuung bezichtigt.[39]

Auch was die Schließzeiten angeht, lassen sich die Angaben des Eparchenbuches anderweitig verifizieren und ergänzen. Eine eigene Novelle von Kaiser Andronikos II. aus dem Jahr 1304, initiiert von Patriarch Athanasios, verfügte generell eine Wochenendsperre von Samstag ab der neunten Stunde bis Sonntag zu dieser Zeit und täglich ab Sonnenuntergang (ausgenommen war jedoch der Gassenverkauf von Wein, der eben steuerlich einträglich war), mit der Begründung, für die Gläubigen sei der Besuch der Kirchen vorrangig und der Weinkonsum reiche tagsüber.[40] 1307 verlangte der Patriarch, in der großem Fastenzeit solle es verboten werden, von Montag bis Samstag die Gasthäuser zu besuchen (Brief 42),[41] ein Jahr später wurde offenbar wegen des geringen Erfolges gefordert, die *kapeleia* während dieser Zeit zu schließen (Brief 43).[42] Im Dezember 1307 gab sich Athanasios in Brief 44 bescheidener: Das Verbot des Betretens von Gasthäusern sollte von Samstag bis Sonntag abends gelten, was der Novelle ziemlich nahe kam.[43] All dem konnte Gabriel, Metropolit von Thessalonike, rund 100 Jahre später nur zustimmen und er mahnte seine Gläubigen, am Fest des Stadtpatrons, also des Heiligen Demetrios am 26. Oktober, auf dem Heimweg von der Messe nicht die *kapeleia* aufzusuchen. Wer derart am Festtag sündige, solle lieber gleich der Kirche fernbleiben. Gabriel fügt vorsichtshalber hinzu, das sei keineswegs eine Aufforderung, sich gleich zu Hause zu betrinken.[44]

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[36] *Eparchenbuch*, Kap. 19.3, Z. 711–712, hrsg. Koder. Kislinger, „Θερμοδότης“.

[37] *Nicetae Choniatae Historia*, hrsg. Jan-Louis van Dieten, CFHB 11/1 (Berlin, 1975), p. 349, Z. 14–16: … καὶ ἀπαιδευτότατοι τῆς Κωνσταντίνου οἰκήτορες καὶ τούτων οἱ ἀλλαντοπῶλαι πλέον καὶ βυρσοδέψαι καὶ ὅσοι τοῖς καπηλείοις διημερεύουσι … Zum tragischen Ende des Kaisers: Harry J. Magoulias, „Andronikos I. Komnenos: A Greek Tragedy,“ *Symmeikta* 21 (2011): 101–136.

[38] *Miracula Saint Georgii*, 8, Z. 3–11, hrsg. Aufhauser, p. 94.

[39] Troianos, „Καπηλεία και Ἐγκληματικότητα,“ 1285–1300.

[40] *Jus Graecoromanum*, 1:535, Novelle Nr. 26 von Kaiser Andronikos II.

[41] *The Correspondence of Athanasius I Patriarch of Constantinople*, hrsg. Alice-Mary Talbot, CFHB 7 (Washington, D.C., 1975), *ep*. 42, Z. 18–20, p. 86.

[42] *Athanasius I Patriarch*, *ep*. 43, Z. 37–38, hrsg. Talbot, 90.

Das Ausschenken von Alkohol, konkret Wein, und die dadurch verursachten Exzesse haben seit jeher zum schlechten Image des Gastgewerbes erheblich beigetragen. Aus schier zahllosen Belegen sei nur Libanios aus dem 4. Jahrhundert zitiert: „In den Weinstuben Antiocheias zähle man die geleerten Becher nicht, Tag und Nacht werde getrunken, purer Wein oder mit Wasser gemischt, und wenn einer meine, die Krüge im Griff zu haben, treffe vielmehr das Gegenteil zu.“[45] Der christliche Rigorismus in Byzanz hat die Grenzen des Tolerablen enger gezogen. Es liegen kaum dreihundert Jahre vom Krönungsbankett Justins II. (568), auf dem laut Corippus in etlichen Versen einzeln aufgeführte Weine aus allen Teilen des Reiches gereicht wurden,[46] bis zur Regierung Michaels III. (843–867), der den verächtlichen Beinahmen methystes (Trunkenbold) erhielt.[47] Es passt zur damaligen Realität, wenn sich Liutprand von Cremona, der als Gesandter der ottonischen Westkaiser mehrmals im byzantinischen Reich weilte, über seine Amtskollegen mokierte, die warmen Wein aus winzigen Gläsern tranken.[48]

Jedoch ist es nicht bloß die referierte Kritik des Gabriel aus Thessalonike, die indirekt einen Wandel signalisiert. In Aufzeichnungen des patriarchalen Gerichts von Konstantinopel ist folgendes Versprechen eines Priesters aus dem Jahr 1389 überliefert: „Ich, Michael Pharites, erkläre und verspreche unserem hochheiligen Herren, dem ökumenischen Patriarchen: In trunkenem Zustand in einem Wirtshaus angetroffen, wurde ich meines priesterlichen Amtes enthoben, erflehte Gnade, und sie wurde mir gewährt. Sollte ich aus welchem Grund auch immer für den Rest meines Lebens in einer Taverne angetroffen werden, werde ich ohne Gnade mein priesterliches Amt verlieren."[49] Michael Pharites hatte klar gegen kirchliche Kanones verstoßen, welche das Betreten von *kapeleia* und – abgesehen von Reisen – *pandocheia* verboten,[50] aber er stand damit in seiner Zeit keineswegs allein. Die besagten Patriarchalakten enthalten aus rund 30 Jahren gleich acht Fälle, in denen andere Kleriker vergleichbare Erklärungen schriftlich ablegen mussten, generelle Disziplinarmaßnahmen sind für das Jahr 1350 belegt.[51] Erwuchs solches Fehlverhalten indirekt aus den veränderten Umständen, weil das Reich damals zunehmend auf der politischen Bühne eine untergeordnete Rolle einnahm, auch ökonomisch in Abhängigkeiten und Nöte geriet, was gerade die einfachen Leute nicht verschonte?

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[43] *Athanasius I Patriarch*, *ep.* 44, Z. 22–26, hrsg. Talbot, p. 92.

[44] Basileios Laourdas, „Γαβριὴλ Θεσσαλονίκης, ὁμιλίαι,“ *Athena* 57 (1953): 169–173. Dazu Karpozilos, „Καπηλεῖα,“ 38.

[45] *Libanii Opera*, Oratio 46.11, hrsg. Richard Foerster, 7 Bde. (Leipzig, 1903–1923), hier Bd. 3, p. 384.

[46] *Flavius Cresconius Corippus: In laudem Iustini Augusti minoris*, hrsg. Averil Cameron (London, 1976), vv. 85–150, hier 87–93; 96–102, pp. 63–64); vgl. Averil Cameron, „Corippus’ poem on Justin II: a terminus of antique art?,“ *Annali della Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa. Classe di Lettere e Filosofia* 5 (1): 129–165; Ewald Kislinger, „Zum Weinhandel in frühbyzantinischer Zeit,“ *Tyche* 14 (1999): 141–156, hier 141–143.

[47] *Michaelis Glycae, Annales IV*, hrsg. Immanuel Bekker, CSHB 16 (Bonn, 1836), 541D.

[48] *Liudprandi Cremonensis Opera Omnia*, Leg. 19, Z. 315–318, hrsg. Paolo Chiesa, Corpus Christianorum, Continuatio Mediaevalis 156 (Turnhout, 1998), p. 196.

Es wäre verfehlt, Hintergründe und Kausalität über das Individuum hinaus zu simpel und zu kurzfristig zu suchen. Der gesellschaftliche, mentale und materielle Wandel, der einem entgegentritt, hat bereits zu Zeiten eingesetzt, als die politische Entwicklung noch zum Positiven verlief, indem Byzanz nach einer ersten Schwächeperiode ab ca. 650 gegen das Jahr 1000 hin erstarkt war, die zuvor von allen Seiten herandrängenden Feinde zurückwarf. Weite Gebiete in Kleinasien und vor allem auf dem Balkan wurden erneut gewonnen, gesichert und produktiv genutzt, Kommunikation und Konsum blühten auf, ein neues Lebensgefühl setzte ein, was auch bislang marginalisierten Bereichen zugutekam.

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[49] Acta et diplomata medii aevi sacra et profana (= MM), Bde. 1–2: Acta patriarchatus Constantinopolitani MCCCXV-MCCCCII, hrsg. Franz Miklosich und Joseph Müller (Wien, 1860–1862), hier Bd. 2:141 (Nr, 416/II).

[50] Der Besuch von Wirtshäusern war Mönchen dem kirchlichem Recht zufolge untersagt, weil dort Wein und Prostituierte feilgeboten wurden, die sie in Versuchung bringen hätten können. Auch andere sittenlose Männer waren dort als Gäste zu finden. Nur auf Reisen war es im Notfall gestattet, in einem Gasthaus zu übernachten. Siehe dazu den Kanon 54 der Heiligen Apostel und den Kommentar von Zonaras, Balsamon und Aristenos in *Σύνταγμα τῶν θείων καὶ ἱερῶν κανόνων τῶν τε ἁγίων καὶ πανευφήμων Ἀποστόλων καὶ τῶν ἱερῶν οἰκουμενικῶν καὶ τοπικῶν συνόδων*, hrsg. Georgios Rhalles und Michael Potles, 6 Bde. (Athen, 1852–1856), hier 2:71–72: Εἴ τις κληρικὸς ἐν καπηλείῳ φωραθείη ἐσθίων, ἀφοριζέσθω · πάρεξ τοῦ ἐν πανδοχείῳ ἐν ὁδῷ δι' ἀνάγκην καταλύοντος. Auch im 24. Kanon der Synode von Laodikeia war Mönchen der Besuch von Gasthäusern verboten: *Discipline générale antique (IIe–IXe)*, Bd. 1/2: *Les Canons des Synodes Particuliers*, hrsg. Périclès-Pierre Joannou (Grottaferrata, 1962), 140. Der 22. Kanon der zweiten Synode von Nikaia lehnte schauspielerische Tätigkeiten (θυμελικὰ ἐπιτηδεύματα), Lautenspiel (κιθάραι) und hurenhafte Tänze (πορνικά λυγίσματα) bei Mahlzeiten als verdammenswert ab, gestattete es aber Klerikern auf Reisen trotzdem in Pandocheia, wo dies also vorkam, einzukehren, in *Discipline Générale Antique (IIe–IXe)*, Bd. 1/1: *Les canons des conciles oecuméniques (IIe–IXe)*, hrsg. Perikles- Pierre Ioannou (Grottaferrata, 1962), 282–285, hier 283–284; Just. Nov. 133.6. Dazu Kislinger, *Gastgewerbe*, 132–139; Magoulias, „Bathhouse," 241; Ariantzi, „Byzantinische Prostitution," 13, n. 43.

[51] *Das Register des Patriarchats von Konstantinopel*, 3. Teil: Edition und Übersetzung der Urkunden aus den Jahren 1350–1363, hrsg. Johannes Koder, Martin Hinterberger und Otto Kresten unter Mitarbeit von Antonia Giannouli [et alii] (Wien, 2001), 181, 186; über diese und ähnliche Verfehlungen gegen die kanonischen Bestimmungen seitens Mitglieder des niederen Klerus s. Carolina Cupane, „Una «classe sociale» dimenticata: il basso clero metropolitano," in *Studien zum Patriarchatsregister von Konstantinopel*, hrsg. Herbert Hunger, Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, phil.-hist. Klasse. Sitzungsberichte 383 (Wien, 1981), 61–83, bes. 66–74.

Um nicht missverstanden zu werden: wer sich über die Wirtshaus- und Bordelltips des sonderbaren Asketen unterwegs zu Schiff amüsierte, eilte angekommen nicht direkt dorthin, aber das bislang öffentlich verteufelte Offert konnte freier thematisiert werden. Wer das konkret niederschrieb, sich dabei von gesellschaftlichen Normen entsprechend distanzierte, aber doch voyeuristisch lauschte, war Michael Psellos, Universalgelehrter des 11. Jahrhunderts, in Brief 97.[52] Von ihm ist an anderer Stelle auch zu erfahren, welche Tavernen sich gerade besonderer Beliebtheit erfreuten. To tou Sananou und das tou Melitragou seien „in", während tou Gorgoploutou in letzter Zeit an Qualität verloren habe. Psellos weiß das natürlich nicht aus Autopsie, Gott behüte, es ist vorgeblich sein Beichtvater, der dort einkehrte. Es ist nicht überliefert, eher zweifelhaft, ob dieser deswegen gleich dem Michael Pharites seines priesterlichen Amtes enthoben wurde.[53]

Der faktische Zuspruch jetzt sogar aus besseren Kreisen dürfte auch das Selbstwertgefühl manches *kapelos* gefördert haben. Abermals von Psellos, der offenbar beginnende Zeichen eines Wandels rasch rezipierte, stammt ein spöttisches Traktat über einen prahlerischen Gastwirt, der sich zum Philosophen berufen fühlte: „Den Wissensdurst aber stillte er nicht mit himmlischen Wassern, sondern machte ihn in Schenken und Bordellen herumstreunen; die Philosophie stellte er hin wie irgendein forderndes Schankmädchen mit kneipenhaften, gar obszönen Raffinessen."[54] Mag sein, dass die väterliche Gelehrsamkeit auch den Sprössling animierte, Psellos polemisiert jedenfalls in Oratio 14 heftig wider einen jungen Wirtsohn, der, offensichtlich über die notwendige finanziellen Basis verfügend, zum nomikos (Juristen oder konkret Richter) aufgestiegen war. Noch bevor die Hände im Wasser aus dem Lebes (was doppeldeutig für Waschbecken bzw. Kochkessel steht) gereinigt waren, habe jener zu den geheiligten Büchern gegriffen: „Feuer zu entfachen und den Kessel anzuheizen, Spieße zu gebrauchen und das Gebratene über der Flamme zu wenden, ist ja nicht schwierig. Du aber hast dich von den gewohnten Gefäßen an die Gesetze herangewagt, obwohl sie einer aus dem Gastgewerbe nicht einmal von Weitem zu sehen bekommt."[55]

Nun, eine Karriere dieser Art dürfte unüblich gewesen sein, aber sie passt grundsätzlich in das Bild aufstrebender Gewerbetreibender jener Zeit, die aufgrund ihres wirtschaftlichen Erfolges nun auch nach mehr gesellschaftlicher Anerkennung suchten, bis hin zu einem Sitz im Senat.[56] Frauen aus dem Gastgewerbe hatten es ungleich schwerer, nach oben zu kommen. Körperliche Reize gepaart mit Intelligenz verhalfen lediglich Anastaso/Theophano im 10. Jahrhundert Gattin von gleich zwei Kaisern zu werden.[57]

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[52] *Michael Psellus Epistulae*, Nr. 219, Z. 5–30, hrsg. Papaioannou, p. 585–586.

[53] *Michaelis Pselli Oratoria Minora,* Oratio 16, Z. 42–55, hrsg. Littlewood, p. 61.

[54] *Michaelis Pselli Oratoria Minora*, Oratio 13, Z. 26–27, 30–31, hrsg. Littlewood, p. 49.

[55] *Michaelis Pselli Oratoria Minora*, Oratio 14, Z. 51–57: hrsg. Littlewood: Εἴς τινα κάπηλον γενόμενον νομικόν. Dazu Ariantzi, „Byzantinische Prostituierte," 19–20.

Der wirtschaftliche Boom speziell des 11. und noch 12. Jahrhunderts kam ebenso den christlichen Einrichtungen der Gastlichkeit zugute. Auch unterhalb der kaiserlichen Ebene mit ihren karitativen Gründungen, agierten nun reiche Adelige wie 1083 Pakourianos, der seinem Petritzos-Kloster (beim heutigen Bachkovo in Bulgarien) extern drei Herbergen für Reisende hinzufügte, eine nahe dem Konvent an der Route von Plovdiv an die Agäis, zwei weitere an der Via Egnatia, der Ost-West Hauptroute durch den Balkan.[58] Michael Attaleiates, ein erfolgreicher Anwalt, hatte schon 1077 in Rhaidestos mehrere Gebäude zu einer wohltätigen Anstalt zugunsten bedürftiger Fremder vereint, die er *ptochotropheion* statt des zu erwartenden *xenodocheion* nannte.[59] Vielleicht erfolgte die Wortwahl ganz bewusst, denn in seinem Geschichtswerk berichtet er vom dortigen Getreidehandel, den Anbieter und Händler in lokalen *xenodocheia* abwickelten, womit sie letztere leicht kommerzialisierten. Davon wollte er seine eigene Gründung abgrenzen, obwohl er selbst darin ein Depot für regionale Agrarprodukte betrieb.[60] Ein terminologischer Wandel scheint auch in Konstantinopel greifbar. Isaak II. Angelos, ab 1185 Kaiser, hatte nahe dem Julianshafen, also einem bevorzugten Landeplatz für Reisende,[61] ein *pandocheion* mit hundert Betten errichten lassen.[62] Wie passt aber ein Hauptvertreter der kommerziellen Unterkünfte zu kaiserlicher und frommer *euergesia*? Die Lösung liegt simpel im stilistisch-sprachlichen Anspruch des Niketas Choniates, unserer Quelle hierzu,[63] der sich am attischen Vorbild orientierte. Den auch hier inhaltlich passenderen, aber erst jüngeren Fachterminus *xenodocheion* zu verwenden wäre für ihn zu modernistisch gewesen.

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[56] Siehe Spyros Vryonis jr, „Byzantine Demokratia and the Guilds in the Eleventh Century,“ *DOP* 27 (1963): 289–314, hier 309–311.

[57] *Ioannis Skylitzae Synopsis Historiarum Libri XVIII*, hrsg. Ioannes Thurn, CFHB, Series Berolinensis 5 (Berlin, 1973), 240.

[58] Paul Gautier, hrsg., „Le typikon du sébaste Grégoire Pakourianos,“ *RÉB* 42 (1984): 5–145, hier 111–113, Z. 1530–1551; Siehe dazu Robert Volk, *Gesundheitswesen und Wohltätigkeit im Spiegel der byzantinischen Klostertypika*, Miscellanea Byzantina Monacensia 28 (München, 1983), 93–104. Mehr dazu in dem Beitrag von Max Ritter in diesem Band.

[59] Paul Gautier, hrsg., „La diataxis de Michel Attaliate,“ *RÉB* 39 (1981): 5–143, hier 27, 49; Volk, *Gesundheitswesen*, 85–91.

[60] *Michaelis Attaliatae Historia*, hrsg. Eudoxos Th. Tsolakis, CFHB 50 (Athen, 2011), B. 202.

[61] Zum Julianshafen siehe Dominik Heher, „Harbour of Julian – Harbour of Sophia – Kontoskalion,“ in *The Byzantine Harbours of Constantinople*, hrsg. Falko Daim und Ewald Kislinger (Mainz, 2021), 93–108, hier 93–97.

[62] Niketas Choniates, *Historia*, p. 445, Z. 19–23. Ewald Kislinger, „Reisen und Verkehrswege in Byzanz: Realität und Mentalität, Möglichkeiten und Grenzen,“ in *Proceedings of the 22nd International Congress of Byzantine Studies* 1 (Sofia, 2011) 341–387, hier 374.

[63] Niketas Choniates, *Historia*, p. 445.

Die Applikation von *pandocheion* konnte aber auch gegenläufig missverstanden werden. Aus Dayr Simʿān, der Siedlung am Fuß des nordsyrischen Qalʿat Simʿān, wo Symeon Stylites viele Pilger anzog, haben wir Unterkünfte, die inschriftlich als *pandocheia* ausgewiesen waren.[64] An einem solchen Ort christlicher Pilgerschaft sei eben, wurde wissenschaftlich argumentiert, die antik-kommerzielle Bezeichnung auf karitative Herbergen übergegangen. Eine der Inschriften zu Dayr Simʿān sprich allerdings von *kerdos* (Gewinn) und das enthüllt klar, dass auch dort Vertreter des alten Typs am einträglichen Pilgertourismus partizipieren wollten und konnten. Als Kyrill Phileotes im 10. Jahrhundert das Michaelsheiligtum zu Chonai aufsuchte, bezog er laut seiner Vita, vermutlich weil kein Platz in *xenodocheia* frei war, Quartier in einem *pandocheion*, dessen Wirt ihn bestehlen wollte.[65]

Parallelität bedeutet, wie wir hoffentlich zeigen konnten, in Byzanz zugleich Alterität. *Aselgeia* bleibt im christlichen Sektor programmatisch ausgeschlossen, Wein, Weib und weltlicher Gesang verblieben dem *kapeleion* und *pandocheion*, wenngleich gerade dieses Offert ihre Betreiber marginalisierte. Die menschliche Neigung, sich zu vergnügen, wenn dies auch inhaltlich am Limit christlich-moralischer Grundsätze war oder sogar gegen sie verstieß, war der eine Hauptfaktor, welcher dem kommerziellen Gasthaus eine existentielle Nische beließ, geduldet nur, aber doch immer wieder aufgesucht. Ein ergo nachgefragtes Angebot, aus dem Gewinn für die Betreiber resultierte, sicherte den Lokalen die Existenz, was bereits auf den zweiten Hauptfaktor ihrer Behauptung hindeutet.

Die christliche Konkurrenz nämlich bot ebenso Essen und Quartier, betreute darüber hinaus sogar Kranke und Arme, doch all dies geschah wohltätig und damit nicht gewinnorientiert, was sehr lobenswert ist. Daraus erwuchs jedoch den Betreibern – egal ob der Kirche und ihren Einrichtungen, vor allem Klöstern, oder staatlichen bzw. privaten Stiftern – die Notwendigkeit, den Betrieb aus eigenen Mitteln dauerhaft zu finanzieren.[66] Bei entsprechender Größe und starker Frequenz waren hohe Beträge erforderlich, und es bedurfte ganzer Dörfer oder ausgedehnter Landgüter, um beispielsweise beim Pantokrator-Xenon[67] und jenem *tou Krale*, das heißt des serbischen Zaren Stefan II. Milutin (1282–1321),[68] die anfallenden Kosten abzudecken, ansonsten drohten zumindest Kürzungen. Präventiv schon beschränkten viele *xenodocheia*[69] die freie Gastung auf drei bis fünf Tage, das war so bei den Klöstern in der nitrischen Wüste im frühen 5. Jahrhundert[70] oder in den balkanischen *xenodocheia* des Pakourianos.[71] Die Ausgaben, welche zu kalkulieren waren, liefen als conditio sine qua non einer flächendeckenden Umsetzung des karitativen Konzeptes zuwider, die kommerziellen Anbieter vermochten sich besonders außerhalb der urbanen Zentren allein schon beim Grundangebot von Verpflegung und Nächtigung zu behaupten. In der Palaiologenzeit, die bekanntlich durch den territorialen Niedergang des Reiches gekennzeichnet ist, was die finanziellen Ressourcen schrumpfen ließ, sind wir in Thrakien und Makedonien wiederholt mit Reisenden (etwa Georgios Oinaiotes[72] oder Matthaios von Ephesos[73]) und ihren üblichen Klagen über betrügerische Wirte konfrontiert, deren Dienste sie allerdings selten umgehen konnten. In Rhaidestos deutete dessen Bischof die Frage nach einem ehrlichen *xenodochos* richtig und beherbergte die Reisenden bei sich, ohne zu wissen, dass einer von ihnen zuvor einen Wirt mit ungültigen Münzen zu betrügen versucht hatte.[74]

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[64] Kislinger, „Xenodocheia," 182; Ritter, *Ökonomie*, 100.

[65] *La Vie de Saint Cyrille de Philéote, moine byzantin* († 1110), hrsg. Etienne Sargologos, Subsidia Hagiographica 39 (Brüssel, 1964), Kap. 18.1, Z. 94: Συνέβη δὲ αὐτῷ ἐν πανδοχείῳ τινὶ καταλῦσαι· καὶ ὁ πανδοχεὺς ἦν λῃστής.

[66] Dazu generell Volk, *Gesundheitswesen*.

[67] Edition des Typikon mit Kommentar durch Paul Gautier, „Le typikon du Christ Sauveur Pantocrator," *RÉB* 32 (1974): 1–145; Volk, *Gesundheitswesen*, 134–194.

[68] „Biographie des Stephan Uros II. Milutin," in *Serbisches Mittelalter. Altserbische Herrscherbiographien*, Band 2: Danilo II. und sein Schüler: Die Königsbiographien, hrsg. Stanislaus Hafner, Slavische Geschichtsschreiber 9 (Graz, 1976), 177: „Von der griechischen Regierung erwarb er (sc. Stephan) käuf-

Im thrakischen Brysis,[75] seinem neuen, ländlich geprägten Bistum, fand sich der erwähnte Matthaios umgeben von Bauern, Hirten, einfachen Handwerkern, Metzgern

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lich viele ausgesuchte Dörfer, vermachte sie (dieser Stiftung), damit sie dieser Institution Abgaben entrichten. Er suchte auch viele erfahrene Ärzte zusammen, gab ihnen viel Gold und was sie sonst benötigten, damit sie ständig die Kranken beaufsichtigten und sie heilten.“ Eines dieser Dörfer war das thrakische Mamytza, dessen Einkünfte zur Hälfte an den Kral-Xenon gingen; zum Ort siehe Andreas Külzer, *Ostthrakien (Eurōpē)*, Tabula Imperii Byzantini 12 (Wien, 2008), 513–514, wo die Einrichtung allerdings falsch als Fremdenheim bezeichnet wird.

[69] Kislinger, „Xenodocheia,“ 171–184; Kislinger, „Taverne, alberghi e filantropia ecclesiastica a Bisanzio,“ 84–96. Cupane und Kislinger, „Xenon und Xenodocheion,“ 201–206; Ritter, *Ökonomie*, 93–103; Ritter, „Wohltätige Fremdenherbergen in byzantinischer Zeit: *Xenodocheia* und ihre Vorsteher (5.–12. Jh.),“ in diesem Band.

[70] *Palladio. La Storia Lausiaca*, hrsg. Gerhardus Johannes Marinus Bartelink, Scrittori Greci e Latini 2 (Rom, 1974), 7,4.

[71] *Typikon du sébaste Grégoire Pakourianos*, hrsg. Gautier, p. 61.

[72] Zu Georgios Oinaiotes in *PLP*, Nr. 21026. Über die Reise nach Ganos: Hélène Ahrweiler, „Le récit du voyage d’Oinaiôtès à Ganos,“ in *Geschichte und Kultur der Palaiologenzeit: Referate des Internationalen Symposium zu Ehren von Herbert Hunger*, hrsg. Werner Seibt (Wien, 1996), 9–21, Anhang: Texte du lettre d’ Oinaiôtès, établi par Georgios Fatouros, ebd. 23–27, besonders 23–24; Siehe dazu Apostolos Karpozilos, „Ταξιδιωτικὲς περιγραφὲς καὶ ἐντυπώσεις σὲ ἐπιστολογραφικὰ κείμενα,“ in *Ἡ ἐπικοινωνία στὸ Βυζάντιο. Πρακτικὰ του Β΄ Διεθνοῦς Συμποσίου*, Κέντρο Βυζαντινών Ἐρευνῶν/Ε.Ι.Ε. (Athen, 1993), 531–534; Karpozilos, „Καπηλεῖα,“ 39. Über Ganos: Külzer, *Ostthrakien*, 374–376, hier 375.

[73] Zu Matthaios von Ephesos in *PLP*, Nr. 3309; Stauros Kourousis, *Μανουήλ Γαβαλάς είτα Ματθαίος Μητροπολίτης Εφέσου (1271/2–1355/60)*, «Αθηνά» Σειρά Διατριβών και Μελετημάτων 12 (Athen, 1972).

[74] Vgl. Ahrweiler, „Le récit du voyage d’Oinaiôtès à Ganos,“ 24,46–61: Der Diener von Oinaiotes, Chalkeopoulos [zu Chalkeopoulos siehe *PLP*, Nr. 30409], bezahlte einen Wirt mit ungültigen Münzen, s. dazu Karpozilos, „Καπηλεῖα,“ 39 und Kislinger, „Reisen und Verkehrswege in Byzanz,“ 385–386.

[75] Peter Soustal, *Thrakien (Thrakē, Rodopē und Pamphylien)*, Tabula Imperii Byzantini 6 (Wien, 1991), 220–221.

und Gastwirten. Sie mischten ihm zufolge von der Früh an bis abends Wein, gebärdeten sich trunken bacchantisch und tanzten Kordax.[76] Wenngleich sicher überzeichnet, ganz realitätsfremd war das entworfene Bild nicht. Schon die *kapeleia* Konstantinopels öffneten laut Eparchenbuch bereits frühmorgens.[77] Vom missratenen Sohn eines Hof- und Kirchenmusikers hieß es, er habe sich an Straßenecken und -kreuzungen der Hauptstadt herumgetrieben, in *pandocheia* und Absteigen dirnenhafter Frauen, *kordakizon* zu Kitharaklängen. Ohne zu erröten, sang er betrunken und tanzte furzend.[78] Das geradezu klassische Feindbild des *aselgeia*-Gastgewerbes hat derart nochmals einen Auftritt.

Sogar auf dieser Ebene spielte Venedig vermutlich mit, indirekt, denn sein weitgespanntes Handelsnetz umfasste,[79] begünstigt vom Transport nun in Fässern, auch Wein.[80] In Konstantinopel stiegen venezianische Händler um 1350 zudem ins Detailgeschäft ein.[81] Eigene Tavernen boten aufgrund der für Venedig reduzierten Abgabensätze den Wein billiger an und schädigten derart die byzantinische Konkurrenz und den Fiskus.[82] Es ist für die Finanzlage bezeichnend, dass dies für die Staatskasse ins Gewicht fiel. Immer wieder verlangten die Behörden, die Zahl der Lokale zu reduzieren. Es war strittig, ob der Verkauf an Untertanen des Kaisers en detail oder nur fassweise erlaubt wäre. Das Geschäft florierte jedenfalls und führte, wie gesehen, auch Priester in Versuchung. Einzelne *tabernarioi* wechselten der besseren Umsätze wegen die Seite. Selbst in jenen letzten Tagen des byzantinischen Jahrtausends, bei und dank merklicher Tendenz eines Sich-Flüchtens in kurzfristigen Genuss, hat sich also das Gastgewerbe immer sozial am Rande zwar, doch funktionell in der Gesellschaft zu behaupten vermocht.

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[76] Diether Roderich Reinsch, *Die Briefe des Matthaios von Ephesos im Codex Vindobonensis Theol. Gr. 174* (Berlin, 1974), p. 198, Z. 249–251: συμμετρεῖται δ’ ὥσπερ τῇ πόλει καὶ πολιτεία καὶ ἦθος ἀνθρώπων τὰ πάντα φαῦλα καὶ τοῦ μηδενὸς ἄξια. Βίος γὰρ τούτοις ... νομαδικός τε καὶ ἀγελαῖος, ὁ δ’ ἀγροικικός τε καὶ βάναυσος. Ὅσος δὲ τούτους ἐκπέφευγεν, είς κρεωνόμους καὶ καπήλους διῄρηται ἕωθεν παρακιρνῶντας τὸν ἄκρατον είς ἑσπέραν αὐτην. ... μεθύουσι γὰρ καὶ κορδακίζουσι καὶ μεταπλάττονται εἰς Βάκχους καὶ Βάκχας ἐξ οἰνοφλυγίας .... Die Byzantiner bewerteten *kordax*, einen meist von Gesang und kithara begleiteten Männertanz, und *methe*, die Trunkenheit, vorwiegend negativ. Siehe dazu Johannes Koder, „Kordax und Methe: Lasterhaftes Treiben in Byzantinischer Zeit,“ *Zbornik Radova Vizantološkog Instituta* 50/2 (2013): 947–958, hier 947–948. Zum Tanz auf öffentlichen Orten wie Straßen oder Plätzen während eines Symposiums und eines religiösen Festes siehe Ruth Webb, *Demons and Dancers.*

[77] *Eparchenbuch*, Kap. 19.3, hrsg. Koder.

[78] *Mazaris’ Journey to Hades, or Interviews with Dead Men about Certain Officials of the Imperial Court*, hrsg. J. N Barry, M. J. Share, A. Smithies und L.G. Westernick (Buffalo, 1975), 52–54, hier 54.

[79] Ralph-Johannes, Lilie, *Handel und Politik zwischen dem byzantinischen Reich und den italienischen Kommunen Venedig, Pisa und Genua in der Epoche der Komnenen und der Angeloi (1081–1204)* (Amsterdam, 1984); Angeliki Laiou-Tomadakis, „The Byzantine Economy in the Mediterranean Trade System,“ *DOP* 34/35 (1980/81): 177–222; Ottavio Banti, *Amalfi, Genova, Pisa e Venezia: il commercio con Costantinopoli e il vicino Oriente nel secolo XII* (Pisa, 1998); David Jacoby, „Mediterranean Food and Wine for Constantinople: The Long Distance Trade, Eleventh to Mid-Fifteenth Century,“ in *Handelsgüter und Verkehrswege. Aspekte der Warenversorgung im östlichen Mittelmeer 4. bis 15. Jahrhundert*), hrsg. Ewald Kislinger, Johannes Koder und Andreas Külzer, Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, phil.-hist. Klasse, Denkschriften 388 (Wien, 2010), 127–147; Nevra Necipoğlu, *Byzantium between the Ottomans and the Latins. Politic and Society in the Late Empire* (Cambridge, 2009); Nikolaos Oikonomides, *Hommes d’affaires grecs et latins à Constantinople (XIIIe–XVe siècles)* (Montreal, 1979) und diverse Beiträge, in *The Economic History of Byzantium. From the Seventh through the Fifteenth Century*, hrsg. Angeliki Laiou, Bd. 1, Dumbarton Oaks Studies 39 (Washington, D.C., 2002).

[80] Ewald Kislinger, „Graecorum vinum nel millennio bizantino,“ in *Olio e vino nell’Alto Medioevo* (Settimane di Studio LIV), (Spoleto, 2007), 658–662.

[81] Julian Chrysostomides, „Venetian Commercial Privileges under the Palaiologi,“ *Studi Veneziani* 12 (1970): 267–356, hier 299.

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Max Ritter

Wohltätige Fremdenherbergen in byzantinischer Zeit: *Xenodocheia* und ihre Vorsteher (5.–12. Jh.)

Im Anschluss an die Studie von Ewald Kislinger zu den kommerziell arbeitenden Gastwirten nimmt die vorliegende Arbeit die Vorsteher der wohltätigen Herbergen (*xenodocheia*) in den Blick. Zu Beginn ist die Genese dieser Anstalten zu skizzieren, die als Gegenstück zu den Gasthäusern konstituiert wurden. Der Essay untersucht anschließend, nach welchen Kriterien die Herbergsleiter ausgewählt wurden und welche Handlungsweisen sie gegenüber den Gästen befolgen mussten.

Die wohltätigen Herbergen dienten unterschiedlichen Gruppen. Sie wurden von Klerikern und Mönchen auf Reisen genutzt, aber auch in Anspruch genommen von Laien auf Pilgerreise, da eine solche eine hindernisreiche und teure Unternehmung war, die arme Laien nicht aus eigenen Mitteln bewältigen konnten. Regularien sorgten dafür, dass die Herbergen nicht überfordert wurden.

Abschließend wird den kaiserlichen *xenodocheia* besondere Aufmerksamkeit gewidmet, da diese offenbar für eine näher definierte Besuchergruppe konzipiert waren und in nur geringer Zahl existierten.

1 Einführung

Bald nach Anerkennung des Christentums als *religio licita* durch Konstantin und Licinius (313) nahm die Kirche sich der Unterprivilegierten in ihrer Glaubensgemeinschaft im Rahmen der *hospitalitas*/φιλοξενία an. In den Genuss der Fürsorge kamen Mittellose, Sklaven, Waisenkinder, Gefangene, Vertriebene, Frauen, Kranke, Alte u.w.m. Die Bischöfe suchten soziale Härten zu lindern und durch ihr philanthropisches Vorbild das Individuum moralisch zu bessern,[1] indem sie in ihren Gebäuden Schlafplätze, Speisung und Pflege anboten.[2] Da die Kapazität der jeweiligen Episkopeia bereits im 4. Jh. an ihre Grenzen stieß, gründeten Bischöfe vielerorts eine für diese Fürsorgeaktivitäten bestimmte Anstalt, die den verschiedenen Bedürfnissen in

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[1] Demetrios J. Constantelos, *Byzantine Philanthropy and Social Welfare*, 2. Auflage (New Rochelle, NY, 1991), 47–48.

[2] Michaela Puzicha, *Christus peregrinus: die Fremdenaufnahme (Mt. 25,35) als Werk der privaten Wohltätigkeit im Urteil der Alten Kirche* (Münster, 1980); Otto Hiltbrunner, *Gastfreundschaft in der Antike und im frühen Christentum* (Darmstadt, 2005), 166–174.

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einer vom konkreten Ort abhängigen Gewichtung nachkam.[3] In der formativen Phase (4.–5. Jh.) handelte es sich bei solchen Einrichtungen um Mischanstalten für alle Hilfesuchenden, die mehrere Funktionen erfüllten.[4] Diese Anstalten wurden mit dem Terminus *xenodocheion* bezeichnet; ein nachklassischer Neologismus des 2. Jhs.,[5] der deshalb in attizistischen Texten der gesamten byzantinischen Zeit beinahe durchgehend durch den Terminus *xenon* ersetzt wird. Lateinische Autoren verwandten zur Bezeichnung die Lehnwörter *xenodochium* und *sinodochium* und seit dem 8. Jh. vermehrt andere Termini wie *hospitium* und *hospitale*.[6]

Das Anstaltswesen war eine völlig neue Erscheinung in der Spätantike.[7] Es handelte sich, zumindest seit dem 5. Jh., aus rechtlicher Sicht um eigenständige Anstalten unter dem Sammelbegriff *piae causae* bzw. εὐαγεῖς οἶκοι.[8] Sie waren baulich von den Kirchen getrennt, standen aber stets unter der Aufsicht der Bischöfe.[9] Augustinus spricht in Bezug auf Christen, aber auch deren Anstalten, von einem *novum nomen.*[10] Mit der Herausbildung des Anstaltswesens übernahm die Kirche in den Städten des Reiches eine zentrale institutionelle Rolle.

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[3] Bernhard Kötting, *Peregrinatio religiosa: Wallfahrten in der Antike und das Pilgerwesen in der alten Kirche*, 2. Auflage (Münster, 1980), 375. Als markantes Beispiel lässt sich das in Helenopontus gelegene *xenodocheion* bzw. *ptochotropheion* anführen, das Epiphanios von Salamis (+403) anführt: Epiphanios von Salamis, *Panarion*, 75.1.7, hrsg. Karl Holl und Jürgen Dummer (Berlin, 1985), 333.

[4] Hans G. Severin, „Pilgerwesen und Herbergen," in *Akten des 12. intern. Kongresses für christliche Archäologie*, hrsg. Ernst Dassmann und Josef Engemann (Münster, 1995), 329–339, hier 329–330.

[5] Der Terminus ist als Kontrapunkt zum *Pandocheion* entwickelt und genutzt worden: Hiltbrunner, *Gastfreundschaft*, 184, 211–212; Robert Volk, *Gesundheitswesen und Wohltätigkeit im Spiegel der byzantinischen Klostertypika*, Miscellanea Byzantina Monacensia 28 (München, 1983), 24–28; Ewald Kislinger, *Gastgewerbe und Beherbergung in frühbyzantinischer Zeit: Eine realienkundliche Studie aufgrund hagiographischer und historiographischer Quellen*, PhD Thesis (Wien, 1982), 44–50.

[6] Hiltbrunner, *Gastfreundschaft*, 174–181, 200–207; Hans C. Peyer, *Von der Gastfreundschaft zum Gasthaus: Studien zur Gastlichkeit im Mittelalter*, Schriften der MGH 31 (Hannover, 1987), 121; Thomas Sternberg, *Orientalium more secutus: Räume und Institutionen der Caritas des 5. bis 7. Jh. in Gallien*, Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum, Ergänzungsband 16 (Münster, 1991), 150–151; Ludwig Schmugge, „Zu den Anfängen des organisierten Pilgerverkehrs und zur Unterbringung und Verpflegung von Pilgern im Mittelalter," in *Gastfreundschaft, Taverne und Gasthaus im Mittelalter*, hrsg. Hans C. Peyer (München, 1983), 37–60, hier 72–73; Egon Boshof, „Untersuchungen zur Armenfürsorge im fränkischen Reich des 9. Jahrhunderts," *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte* 58 (1976): 265–339, hier 278–279.

[7] Dies wird besonders im Brief Kaiser Julians II. an den galatischen Oberpriester Arsakios (von Pessinous) deutlich, in dem der Kaiser anregte, die neue Institution in die Sphäre der traditionellen Kulte zu übernehmen: Sozomenos, *Historia ecclesiastica* 5.16, Z. 9–10, hrsg. Joseph Bidez und Günter C. Hansen (Berlin, 1995), 218; Kaiser Julian, *ep.* 84.429–431, hrsg. Joseph Bidez und Franz Cumont (Paris, 1922), 113–115. Ewald Kislinger, „Kaiser Julian und die (christlichen) Xenodocheia," in *Βύζαντιος: Festschrift für Herbert Hunger zum 70. Geburtstag*, hrsg. Wolfram Hörandner, Johannes Koder, Otto Kresten und Erich Trapp (Wien, 1984), 171–184.

[8] Hans-Rudolf Hagemann, *Die Stellung der Piae Causae nach justinianischem Rechte* (Basel, 1953), 25–29. Sie sind im Codex Theodosianus (a. 428) unerwähnt, also waren die *piae causae* zu dieser Zeit noch nicht relevant und/oder unabhängig: Hagemann, *Stellung*, 267.

[9] John P. Thomas, „In perpetuum: Social and Political Consequences of Byzantine Patrons' Aspirations for Performance for their Foundations," in *Stiftungen in Christentum, Judentum und Islam vor der Moderne: Auf der Suche nach ihren Gemeinsamkeiten und Unterschieden in religiösen Grundlagen, praktischen Zwecken und historischen Transformationen*, hrsg. Michael Borgolte (Berlin, 2005), 123–135, hier

Schließlich differenzierte sich seit der mittleren justinianischen Zeit (Mitte 6. Jh.) das Anstaltswesen weiter aus.[11] Dies hatte Folgen für die Bezeichnung der jeweiligen Einrichtung, die nunmehr für bestimmte Bedürftige konzipiert wurde, auch wenn die Grenzen zwischen den Funktionen zunächst noch fließend waren. Der Begriff *xenodocheion* verengte sich beinahe durchgehend auf die auf die Beherbergung reisender Christen (Pilger sowie Kleriker in offizieller Mission) spezialisierte Anstalt.[12] Zugleich erschienen weitere Anstalten, die auf andere Funktionen spezialisiert waren, wie Waisenhäuser (*orphanotropheia*), Kinderheime (*brephotropheia*), Altenheime (*gerokomeia*, ab 11. Jh. häufiger *gerotropheia*), Orte der Armenspeisung (*ptochotropheia*, *ptocheia*), Pflegeheime für Leprakranke (*leprosaria*) und Pflegeheime für andere Kranke (*nosokomeia*). Nicht wenige Pflegeeinrichtungen für Kranke wurden seit der justinianischen Zeit als *xenones* bezeichnet, was ihre maßgebliche Unterstützung von kaiserlicher Seite anzeigte.[13]

2 Die Stifter

Die ältesten *xenodocheia* lassen sich auf Initiativen von Bischöfen zurückführen. Es traten allerdings alsbald Mönchsväter, private Stifter und Angehörige des Kaiserhauses als Förderer der Fremdenfürsorge und des Anstaltswesens hinzu. Die früheste, gut dokumentierte Gründung eines *xenodocheions* veranlasste Bischof Basileios von Kaisareia zwischen den Jahren 372–374. Dieses trug die eponyme Bezeichnung Βασιλειάς.[14]

127; Zachary Chitwood, „Stiftungsorganisation: Griechisch-orthodoxe Christen,“ in *Enzyklopädie des Stiftungswesens in mittelalterlichen Gesellschaften* 2, hrsg. Michael Borgolte (Berlin, 2014), 554–567, hier 554–561.

[10] Augustinus, *In Iohannis evangelium tractatus*, 97.4, hrsg. Radbod Willems (Turnhout, 1965), 575.

[11] Kötting, *Peregrinatio*, 377. Diese Entwicklung wurde außerhalb des Reichsgebiets nicht vollzogen, beispielsweise im Merowingerreich: Sternberg, *Orientalium more secutus passim.*

[12] Generell: Phaidon Koukoules, *Βυζαντινῶν Βίος καὶ Πολιτισμός*, 6 Bde., Collection de l' Institut Français d' Athènes 73 (Athen, 1948–1955), 2/1:128–140.

[13] Anne Philipsborn, „Der Fortschritt in der Entwicklung des byzantinischen Krankenhauswesens,“ *BZ* 54 (1961): 338–365, hier 338–365; Ewald Kislinger, „Xenon und Nosokomeion: Hospitäler in Byzanz,“ *Historia Hospitalium* 17 (1986/88): 7–16.

[14] Basileios von Kaisareia, *ep.* 142–143, hrsg. Yves Courtonne (Paris, 1966), Bd. 2, 64–65: Hier schwankt die Wortwahl noch zwischen *xenon* und *xenodocheion*. Sozomenos, *Historia ecclesiastica*, 6.34.9, 291. Zur Basileias s. Andrew T. Crislip, *From Monastery to Hospital: Christian Monasticism and the Transformation of Health Care in Late Antiquity*, 4. Auflage (Ann Arbor, 2008), 104–116; Constantelos, *Byzantine Philanthropy*, 119; Volk, *Gesundheitswesen*, 39; Philipsborn, „Fortschritt in der Entwicklung,“ 347; Kislinger, „Kaiser Julian,“ 176.

Sie hatte solche Ausmaße, dass sie Gregor von Nazianz als neue Stadt pries. Basileios selbst verteidigt in einem Brief an Elias, den Proconsul von Cappadocia I, den Bau von Herbergen für Gäste, womit er auf die Βασιλειάς anspielte: „Wem Schaden wir, wenn wir Unterkünfte für Fremde errichten, also für jene, die uns auf einer Reise besuchen, die wegen einer Krankheit Pflege bedürfen, in einer Notlage zur Erleichterung einkehren, den Pflegern, den Heilern, den Lastträgern, den Gesandten?“[15] Basileios wurde zum Beispiel für viele spätantike Bischöfe. Über Bischof Rabbula von Edessa wird berichtet, dass er durch Zustiftungen im ersten Drittel des 5. Jhs. aus einem bereits bestehenden *xenodocheion*, „das nur dem Namen nach bestand“, ein wahrhaftiges gemacht habe.[16] Er gründete überdies ein weiteres *xenodocheion* für weibliche Gäste. Beide Einrichtungen wurden von Diakonen bzw. Diakonissen geleitet. Auch Bischof Paulinus von Nola (fl. 420–430) trennte die Geschlechter in einem von ihm gegründeten *xenodocheion*.[17] Bischof Markianos von Gaza wird von Chorikios von Gaza für das von ihm gegründete *gerokomeion* um 540 gelobt.[18]

Parallel dazu strebten auch Vorkämpfer des sich entwickelnden Mönchtums nach dem Ideal der Fremdenfürsorge. Diese hatten aber im Unterschied zu den Bischöfen in den Städten das zusätzliche Ansinnen, im Hinblick auf das mönchische Ideal den Kontakt zwischen Mönchen und Gästen zu minimieren.[19] Der ägyptische Mönchsvater Pachomios (fl. 325–345) legte für das von ihm gegründete *xenodocheion* fest, dass die Fremden nicht mit den Mönchen, sondern nur mit dem Vorsteher Umgang pflegen sollten.[20] Die Eltern des Ioannes Kalybites (+460), eines Mönchs des Akoimeten-Klosters, sollen nach seinem Tode eine Kirche mit angeschlossenem *xenon* zum Wohle der Fremden in Konstantinopel erbaut haben.[21]

Einige Jahre nach dem Tod des Mönchsvaters Euthymios (+473) wurde ein Pilger in dem von ihm gegründeten Kloster aufgenommen. Dieser nutzte den Aufenthalt, um des Nachts dessen Gebeine zu stehlen.[22] Es zeigt sich hier bereits ein latenter Konfliktpunkt, der sich bei einer Gastaufnahme an einer geheiligten Stätte ergeben konnte: Der Wächter des Klosters konnte den flüchtenden Dieb nur einholen, weil ein Strafwunder diesen unweit des Klosters gelähmt hatte. Eine der erbaulichen Geschichten des Ioannes Moschos (um 600) handelt von einem Mönchsbruder in Palästina, der zu Unrecht bezichtigt wurde, seinem Gastgeber einen Solidus gestohlen zu haben.[23] Mindestens genauso häufig wurden aber auch Gäste bestohlen; so erging es Kyrillos Phileotes, als er in einer Herberge in Chonai um das Jahr 1100 dreier Goldmünzen und eines Silberlings verlustig ging.[24]

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[15] Basileios von Kaisareia, *ep.* 94, Bd. 1, 206, Z. 35–40: Τίνα δὲ ἀδικοῦμεν καταγώγια τοῖς ξένοις οἰκοδομοῦντες, οἷς ἂν κατὰ πάροδον ἐπιφοιτῶσι καὶ τοῖς θεραπείας τινὸς διὰ τὴν ἀσθένειαν δεομένοις, καὶ τὴν ἀναγκαίαν τούτοις παραμυθίαν ἐγκαθιστῶντες, τοὺς νοσοκομοῦντας, τοὺς ἰατρεύοντας, τὰ νωτοφόρα, τοὺς παραπέμποντας; Studie: Volk, *Gesundheitswesen*, 39–44.

[16] *Vita Rabbulae*, Kap. 50, hrsg. Robert R. Phenix und Cornelia B. Horn (Atlanta, 2017), 72–74. Kommentar bei Andreas Luther, *Die syrische Chronik des Josua Stylites* (Berlin, 1997), 175.

[17] Paulinus von Nola, *Carm.*, 21, Z. 374–395, hrsg. Wilhelm de Hartel und Margit Kamptner (Wien, 1999), 170–171.

[18] Chorikios von Gaza, *Oratio*, 1.78, hrsg. Richard Förster und Eberhard Richtsteig (Leipzig, 1929), 22.

[19] Crislip, *From Monastery to Hospital*, 133–134.

[20] Pachomios, Regula, 42, hrsg. Amand Boon (Louvain, 1922), 23–24.

[21] *Vita Ioannis Calybitae*, Kap. 14, hrsg. Odysseus A. Lampsides (Athen, 1964), 286, Z. 42 – 287, Z. 2.

[22] Kyrillos von Skythopolis, *Vita Euthymii*, Kap. 59, hrsg. Eduard Schwartz (Leipzig, 1939), 81, Z. 27 – 82, Z. 2.

Insbesondere in Palästina wuchs der Bedarf nach Pilgerunterkünften in der Spätantike stetig an. Der palästinische Klostervorsteher Theodosios (+529) errichtete ein *xenodocheion* und kaufte zwei Esel für dessen Betrieb (mitgeteilte Gesamtkosten 100 Solidi).[25] Auch die von Theodoros von Petra auf denselben Heiligen verfasste *Vita* lobt dieses *xenodocheion*, das Reisenden und Armen gleichermaßen nutze.[26]

Der Mönchsvater Sabas (+532) stiftete mehrere *xenodocheia*. Eines befand sich bei seiner Gemeinschaft (Mâr Saba), ein anderes lag in Jericho und diente dem Pilgerverkehr zwischen Jerusalem und dem Jordan.[27] Einen weiteren Schwerpunkt legte Sabas auf das Anstaltswesen in Jerusalem selbst. Er bewog Kaiser Justinian während einer persönlichen Audienz im Jahr 529, für erkrankte Pilger ein νοσοκομεῖον in der Größe von 100 Betten zu finanzieren, das letztlich sogar 200 Betten umfassen sollte.[28] Diese Anstalt bezeichnet Prokop in seinen *Bauten* (um 554) als Erholungsheim für arme Kranke (ἀναπαυστήριον νοσοῦσι πτωχοῖς).[29] Justinian baute zudem ein *xenodocheion* für Reisende (ξένοις ἐνδημοῦσι καταλυτήριον) neben der von ihm errichteten und i. J. 543 geweihten Nea Ekklesia. In dieser Weise erfasst Prokop beide Anstalten in Jerusalem und bestätigt damit die *Vita Sabae* des Kyrillos von Skythopolis, wie man bereits im

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[23] Ioannes Moschos, *Pratum spirituale*, 116, in *PG* 87, 2980–2981.

[24] Nikolaos Kataskepenos, *Vita Cyrilli Phileotae*, Kap. 18, hrsg. Étienne Sargologos (Brüssel, 1964), 94–98.

[25] Kyrillos von Skythopolis, *Vita Theodosii*, Kap. 3, hrsg. Eduard Schwartz (Leipzig, 1939), 238, Z. 15–19. Konstantin M. Klein, „Von Hesychie zu Ökonomie: Zur Finanzierung der Wüstenklöster Palästinas (5.–6. Jh.),“ *Millennium-Jahrbuch* 15 (2018): 37–67, hier 51.

[26] Theodoros von Petra, *Vita Theodosii*, Kap. 13 und 40, hrsg. Hermann Usener (Leipzig, 1890), 34, Z. 14 – 35, Z. 4 und p. 98, Z. 12–23. Leah di Segni, „Epigraphical Evidence for Pilgrimage to the Holy Places,“ in *Pilgrimage to Jerusalem: Journeys, Destinations, Experiences across Times and Cultures*, hrsg. Falko Daim et al. (Mainz, 2020), 23–30, hier 25.

[27] Kyrillos von Skythopolis, *Vita Sabae*, Kap. 25 und 31, hrsg. Eduard Schwartz (Leipzig, 1939), 109; 116; Kyrillos von Skythopolis, *Vita Iohannis*, Kap. 20, hrsg. Eduard Schwartz (Leipzig, 1939), 217.

[28] Kyrillos von Skythopolis, *Vita Sabae*, Kap. 73, 177. Michele Voltaggio, „Xenodochia and Hospitia in Sixth-Century Jerusalem: Indicators for the Byzantine Pilgrimage to the Holy Places,“ *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins* 127 (2011): 197–210, hier 199. Zur Reise: Ernest Stein, „Cyrille de Scythopolis: à propos de la nouvelle édition de ses œuvres,“ *AB* 62 (1944): 169–187, hier 171–180. Einen Überblick über die Herbergsstruktur Jerusalems gibt: Di Segni, „Epigraphical Evidence,“ 24–26.

[29] Prokopios von Kaisareia, *De aedificiis*, 5.6.25, hrsg. Jakob Haury und Gerhard Wirth (Leipzig, 1964). Fast wortgleiche Formulierung in Bezug auf Pythia (5.3.20: τὸ τῶν νοσούντων ἀναπαυστήριον), wo Justinian ebenfalls ein *xenon* für Kranke stiftete.

10. Jh. erkannte.[30] Das jerusalemitische *xenodocheion* beherbergte um 570 auch den Pilger aus Piacenza, der eine Bettenzahl von 3000 mitteilt.[31] Prokop listet zudem einen ‚kaiserliches *xenon*‘ in Jericho auf, der mit dem von Sabas gegründeten identisch sein könnte.[32] Damit ist ein Charakteristikum der gesamten byzantinischen Zeit angesprochen, nämlich die Förderung einzelner Anstalten durch die Kaiser. Prokop teilt in seinen *Bauten* mit, dass Justinian *xenones* in Kiberis (Provinz Europa) und Mokissos (Cappadocia II) errichtet habe. In beiden Fällen ist unklar, ob, und wenn ja, auf welche Funktion, die Einrichtungen spezialisiert waren.[33] In Antiochia finanzierte der Kaiser eine offenbar auf Kranke ausgerichtete Anstalt.[34] In Konstantinopel war Justinian besonders aktiv: Der *xenon* des Sampson war ebenfalls auf Krankenpflege spezialisiert,[35] ebenso wie der *xenon* des Euboulos (den Prokop als jenen des Arkadios bezeichnet)[36] und der in Argyronion am Bosporos, der Leprakranke versorgte.[37] Der *xenon* des Isidoros, der ebenfalls kaiserliche Förderung genoss, war vermutlich bereits zu justinianischer Zeit ein Altersheim.[38] Prokop verwendet in beinahe all diesen Fällen den Termi-

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[30] *Vita Sabae metaphrastica*, Kap. 189, hrsg. Kleopas Koikylides (Jerusalem, 1905), 87.

[31] *Itinerarium Anonymi Placentini*, Kap. 23, hrsg. Paul Geyer (Turnhout, 1965), 141. Als ein späterer Besucher und Jerusalempilger wird Theodoros von Edessa in seiner Vita präsentiert, die im 8./9. Jh. spielt aber erst im 10. Jh. verfasst wurde: *Vita Theodori Edesseni*, Kap. 24, hrsg. Igor Pomjalovskij (St. Petersburg, 1892), 18, Z. 2–8. Zum Kontext: Sidney H. Griffith, „The Life of Theodore of Edessa: History, Hagiography, and Religious Apologetics in Mar Saba Monastery in Early Abbasid Times,“ in *The Sabaite Heritage in the Orthodox Church from the Fifth Century to the Present*, hrsg. Joseph Patrich, Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 98 (Leuven, 2001), 147–169, hier 157.

[32] Prokopios von Kaisareia, *De aedificiis*, 5.6.25; 5.9.4. Konstantina Mentzou-Meimari, „Ἐπαρχιακὰ εὐαγῆ ἱδρύματα μέχρι τοῦ τέλους τῆς Εἰκονομαχίας,“ *Byzantina* 11 (1982): 243–308, hier 283.

[33] Ewald Kislinger, „Reisen und Verkehrswege in Byzanz: Realität und Mentalität, Möglichkeiten und Grenzen,“ in *Proceedings of the 22*nd *Intern. Congress of Byzantine Studies* (Sofia, 2011), Bd. 1, 341–387, hier 370, Anm. 177.

[34] Prokopios von Kaisareia, *De aedificiis*, 2.10.25; Ioannes Malalas, *Chronographia* 17.19, hrsg. Hans Thurn (Berlin, 2000), 351.

[35] Prokopios von Kaisareia, *De aedificiis*, 1.2.14.

[36] Prokopios von Kaisareia, *De aedificiis*, 1.2.17. Der Hauptzeuge der *Bauten*, Vat.gr.1065 (XII s.), ist mit Kopistenglossen versehen, die auf fol. 28r den *xenon* des Arkadios mit dem des Euboulos identifizieren. Dies ist ein starkes Argument dafür, den außerhalb von Prokop unbekannten *xenon* des Arkadios mit dem es Euboulos gleichzusetzen, wie dies bereits ohne Kenntnis der Handschriftenevidenz vorgeschlagen wurde: Albrecht Berger, *Untersuchungen zu den Patria Konstantinupoleos* (Bonn, 1988), 398–399; Raymond Janin, *Constantinople byzantine: développement urbain et repertoire topographique*, 2. Auflage (Paris, 1964), 348–349.

[37] Prokopios von Kaisareia, *De aedificiis*, 1.9.12: πτωχῶν ἦν ἐκ παλαιοῦ καταγώγιον, οἷσπερ ἡ νόσος τὰ ἀνήκεστα ἐλωβήσατο.

[38] Prokopios von Kaisareia, *De aedificiis*, 1.2.17. Im 10. Jh. war es jedenfalls ein γηροκωμεῖον: *Patria Constantinopolitanis*, 3.120–121, hrsg. Theodor Preger (Leipzig, 1907), 241.

nus *xenon* wohl nicht nur aus attizistischem Stilwillen, sondern auch, weil der Begriff im Unterschied zur Bezeichnung *xenodocheion* eine kaiserliche Förderung anzeigte.[39]

3 Die Vorsteher

3.1 Norm und Praxis

Ursprünglich bezeichnete der *xenon* den Raum eines Privathauses, in dem man Gäste unterbrachte. Der Hausbesitzer schlüpfte mit der Gastaufnahme in die Rolle des *xenodochos*. In Bezug auf das Anstaltswesen bezeichnete man fürderhin mit dem Begriff *xenodochos* den Vorsteher eines *xenodocheions* oder *xenons*, der den Bestimmungszweck der Anstalt erfüllen sollte. Die Anstalten hatten im Unterschied zu Klöstern keine Gemeinschaft, sondern wurden von Personal getragen, das allein der Vorsteher wählte und das ihm unterstand.[40]

Der Stifter einer Anstalt bestellte den ersten Vorsteher,[41] legte organisatorische und liturgische Bestimmungen zum Betrieb fest,[42] an die auch der Bischof bei seiner weiteren Aufsicht gebunden war. Den Nachfolger des ersten Vorstehers bestimmte dann der jeweilige Ortsbischof. Die kirchlichen Kanones legten nicht nur das Procedere der Personalauswahl fest, sondern steckten auch den Handlungsrahmen der *xenodochoi* ab.

Kanon 41 der sogenannten Apostolischen Kanones (um 400 kodifizierte Praxis der Kirche Syriens) bestimmte, dass die Bischöfe geeignete Diakone oder Priester im Hinblick auf die Ausübung der Philanthropie für aufzunehmende Kleriker als Vorsteher einsetzen sollten.[43] Im Kanon 38 erscheint diesbezüglich die Armenfürsorge an vorderster Stelle.[44] Ein Kanon der arabisch überlieferten, erweiterten Kanonessammlung zum Nicaenum I aus dem Syrien des ausgehenden 5. Jhs. legte fest,[45] dass jeder größere Ort ein *xenodocheion* haben solle. Dieses solle von einem Mönch geleitet werden, den der Bischof erwähle. Ortsansässige Christen wurden aufgerufen, für den laufenden Bedarf der Anstalt zu spenden.

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[39] Kislinger, *Gastgewerbe*, 49–50: „Die von Basileios von Kaisareia noch umfassend vollzogene christliche Fürsorge hat schon bald zu einer weiteren Aufgliederung geführt, und zwar in dem Sinn, daß sich Anstalten, die an zentralen Plätzen lagen und/oder obrigkeitliche Förderung genossen, in Leistung und Umfang ausweiteten (Ξενῶνες), während die reinen Unterkunfts[-anstalten] (Ξενοδοχεῖα), die teils gar nicht mehr der Allgemeinheit zur Verfügung standen, dann die zweite Gruppe bildeten."

[40] Hagemann, *Stellung*, 36.

[41] *Concilium Chalcedonense, Canon* 8, in *Discipline Générale Antique (IIe–IXe)*, Bd. 1/2: *Les Canons des Synodes Particuliers*, hrsg. Périclès-Pierre Joannou (Grottaferrata, 1962), 75–76. CJ 1.3.46[47], in Corpus Iuris Civilis, Bd. 2: Codex *Iustinianus*, hrsg. Paul Krüger (Berlin, 1895), a. 530. Telemachos C. Lounghis, Vassiliki N. Vlyssidou und Stelios Lampakes, *Regesten der Kaiserurkunden des oströmischen Reiches von 476 bis 565* (Nicosia, 2005), Nr. 771; Constantelos, *Byzantine Philanthropy*, 159–160. Just. Nov. 131.10.2, hrsg. Rudolf Schöll und Wilhelm Kroll (Berlin, 1972), a. 545. Sternberg, *Orientalium more secutus*, 32; Hagemann, *Stellung*, 10.

[42] Diese Regeln und Anweisungen waren in einem Typikon (Grundbedeutung: Formular) des Stifters schriftlich festgehalten. Chitwood, „Stiftungsorganisation: Griechisch-orthodoxe Christen," 554–555. Typika waren nicht durch Gesetzgebung flankiert und daher stets angreifbar: Bernhard H. Stolte, „Law for Founders," in *Founders and Refounders of Byzantine Monasteries*, hrsg. Margaret E. Mullett (Belfast, 2007), 121–139.

Kaiser Justinian (527–565) griff regulatorisch in das Anstaltswesen ein. Die Gründung eines *xenodocheions* musste nunmehr vom Ortsbischof gestattet und zu Baubeginn eingesegnet werden.[46] Der Bau sollte nicht länger als ein Jahr dauern.[47] Justinian bestimmte überdies, dass die Vorsteher der *piae causae* ‚unproduktive' Schenkungen, d. h. nicht zum Vorteil der Einrichtung gereichende Gaben, zurückweisen sollten.[48] Sollte dies nicht geschehen, hatte der Vorsteher aus seinem Privatvermögen für den Schaden zu haften. Überdies hatten die Anstaltsvorsteher ihrem Ortsbischof Rechenschaft abzulegen:

> Wir befehlen, dass Verwalter, *xenodochoi*, *ptochotrophoi* und alle anderen Verwalter von *piae causae* und alle übrigen Kleriker gegenüber ihrem Bischof, dem sie in Bezug auf die ihnen anvertrauten Objekte unterstehen, verantwortlich sein und Rechenbücher über ihre Verwaltung anfertigen sollen. Von ihnen soll alles beglichen werden, was sie laut der Bücher derjenigen Anstalt schulden, zu der sie wegen ihrer Amtsführung in Schuld stehen.[49]

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[43] *Syntagma canonum apostolicorum*, 41, in *Discipline Générale Antique (IVe–IXe)*, Bd. 2: *Les canons des Pères Grecs*, hrsg. Périclès-Pierre Joannou (Grottaferrata, 1962), 28–29. Sehr ähnliche Formulierung bereits in Canon 25 von Antiocheia (a. 341), hrsg. Joannou, Bd. 2, 125.

[44] *Syntagma canonum apostolicorum*, hrsg. Joannou, Bd. 2, 26–27.

[45] *Concilium Nicaenum I*, *Canon* 75, hrsg. Giovanni D. Mansi (Florenz, 1759), Bd. 2, 1006. Diese Sammlung beruht nach einhelliger Forschungsmeinung auf einer syrischen Vorlage vom Ende des 5. Jahrhunderts, die frühestens im 8. Jahrhundert ins Arabische übertragen wurde, und kam bei den Melkiten Antiocheias, den Kopten und den Maroniten zur Anwendung: Hubert Kaufhold, „Sources of Canon Law in the Eastern Churches," in *The History of Byzantine and Eastern Canon Law to 1500*, hrsg. Wilfried Hartmann und Kenneth Pennington (Washington, D.C., 2009), 215–342, hier 233, 274; Jean-Baptiste Darblade, *La collection canonique arabe des Melkites (XIII^{e}–XVII^{e} siècles)* (Harissa, 1946), 87–89. Derselbe Kanon ist auch in einer ostsyrischen pseudo-nicaenischen Sammlung enthalten: Maruta von Maipherkat, Canon 36, hrsg. Arthur Vööbus (Louvain, 1982), Bd. 1, 82–83 und Bd. 2, 70–71.

[46] Just. Nov. 131.7, a. 545.

[47] Just. Nov. 131.10.

[48] Just. Nov. 7.12, a. 535.

[49] Just. Nov. 123.23, a. 546: Τοὺς δὲ οἰκονόμους καὶ πτωχοτρόφους καὶ ξενοδόχους καὶ νοσοκόμους καὶ τοὺς τῶν ἄλλων εὐαγῶν οἴκων διοικητὰς καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἅπαντας κληρικοὺς κελεύομεν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐμπιστευθεισῶν αὐτοῖς διοικήσεων παρὰ τῷ ἰδίῳ ἐπισκόπῳ ᾧ ὑπόκεινται, ἀποκρίνεσθαι καὶ τοὺς λογισμοὺς τῆς ἰδίας διοικήσεως ποιεῖσθαι, καὶ εἰσπράττεσθαι ὅπερ ἐξ αὐτῶν ὀφείλοντες ἀποδειχθείησαν, ἐκείνῳ τῷ εὐαγεῖ ἀποδοθησόμενον οἴκῳ οὗτινος ἐκ τῆς διοικήσεως τὸ χρέος φανείη. Lounghis, Blysidu und Lampakes, *Regesten*, Nr. 1319. Bestätigt in den *Libri basilicorum* 3.1.39, hrsg. Herman J. Scheltema und Nicolaas Van der Wal (Groningen, 1953), 99, a. 888/89.

Justinian versuchte auch durch weitere Maßnahmen, die Veruntreuung kirchlichen Besitzes zu verhindern.[50] Da nicht wenige der *piae causae* über ein umfangreiches Vermögen verfügten, bestand die Gefahr, dass sich deren Vorsteher in ihrer Position bereicherten.[51] Um diesem Risiko zu begegnen, wurde es gängig, Vorsteher ohne eigene Familie zu bevorzugen, womit unverheiratete Kleriker und Mönche regelmäßig an die Spitze einer Anstalt gestellt wurden.

Im Kanon 13 des Nicaenum II (787) offenbart sich, dass davon unbenommen einige *piae causae* und Klöster zwischenzeitlich in κοινὰ καταγώγια verwandelt worden waren, mithin in Unterkünfte kommerzieller Natur.[52] Das Klagen darüber griff unmittelbar Kanon 24 des Konzils von Chalkedon (451) auf, in dem eine gleichgelagerte Umwandlung eines Klosters streng verboten worden war. Das Konzil von Nikaia bestimmte, dass wohltätige Anstalten wieder in den alten Zustand gebracht werden sollten. Daraus lässt sich entnehmen, dass viele Anstalten an der Wende zum 8. Jh. ihren Zweck nicht mehr erfüllten; zugleich hatten aber einige andere durch jahrhundertelange Förderung einen großen Stiftungsbesitz aufgebaut. Letzteres wird durch eine Nachricht des Theophanes nahegelegt, nach der unter Nikephoros‘ I. (809/10) die wohltätigen Anstalten den wichtigen fiskalischen Vorteil verloren, keine Herdsteuer (καπνικόν) für ihre Paroiken entrichten zu müssen. Zugleich habe der Kaiser ihnen manch reichen Landbesitz genommen und in kaiserliche Verwaltung überführt.[53]

Die genannten normativen Zeugnisse lassen sich teilweise mit den literarischen Zeugnissen über konkrete Anstalten und ihre *xenodochoi* in Deckung bringen. So wählten Bischöfe tatsächlich überwiegend Vorsteher im Weihegrad eines Diakons oder Presbyters aus,[54] die sich eines guten Rufes in Bezug auf ihre Barmherzigkeit erfreuten.

Die bereits erwähnte Βασιλειάς vor den Toren Kaisareias (Cappadocia I) wurde um 375 zeitweise von einem gewissen Prapidios geleitet, einem Mönch höheren Alters, der zudem auch Teile der Diözese als Chorepiskopos betreute.[55] Über einen gewissen Isidoros, der in den 390er Jahren als Presbyter und *xenodochos* im Patriarchat von

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[50] Just. Nov. 120.5, a. 544 und 131.10.13–15, a. 545. John L. Boojamra, „Christian Philanthropia: A Study of Justinian's Welfare Policy," *Byzantina* 7 (1975): 347–373, hier 368.

[51] Zur ökonomischen Funktion von *xenodocheia* siehe Max Ritter, *Zwischen Glaube und Geld: Zur Ökonomie des byzantinischen Pilgerwesens*, Byzanz zwischen Orient und Okzident 14 (Mainz, 2019), 101–103.

[52] *Concilium Nicaenum II*, *Canon* 13, hrsg. Périclès-Pierre Joannou (Grottaferrata, 1962), Bd. 1, 268–269.

[53] Theophanes, *Chronographia*, s. a. 6302, hrsg. Carolus de Boor (Leipzig, 1883), 486–487. Constantin Zuckerman, „Learning from the Enemy and More: Studies in Dark Centuries' Byzantium," *Millennium-Jahrbuch* 2 (2005): 79–135, hier 100; Marc C. Bartusis, *Land and Privilege in Byzantium: The Institution of Pronoia* (Cambridge, 2012), 82–86.

[54] Sternberg, *Orientalium more secutus*, 156.

[55] Sozomenos, *Historia ecclesiastica*, 6.34.9, 291, Z. 17–22: εὐδοκιμώτατοι δὲ ὧν ἐπυθόμην τότε ἐγένοντο ἐνθάδε μοναχοὶ Λεόντιος ὁ τὴν ἐν Ἀγκύρᾳ ἐκκλησίαν ὕστερον ἐπιτροπεύσας καὶ Πραπίδιος, ὃς ἤδη γηραλέος ὢν πολλὰς ἐπεσκόπει κώμας. προέστη δὲ καὶ Βασιλειάδος, ὃ πτωχῶν ἐστιν ἐπισημότατον

Alexandria diente, wird berichtet, dass er Geldgeschenke von Gönnern entgegennahm.[56] Palladios ergänzt, dass dieser Isidoros das Geld für Arme und Witwen verausgabt habe.

Zur Leitung des *xenons*, das an das Kloster von Ruphinianai im Umfeld von Chalkedon angeschlossen war, bestimmte der Hegoumenos Hypatios einen gewissen Mönch Egersios (um 445). Dieser war Konvertit und ein ehemaliger *scriniarius* einer Präfektur,[57] und damit sicher ein Vorsteher mit herausragenden administrativen Kenntnissen. Die *Vita Hypatii* hebt allerdings nicht diese Eignung, sondern seine Fürsorge für die Armen hervor.

Um 535 war der Mönch Ioannes Beth Aphtonia (+537) im Kloster des Apostels Thomas bei Seleukeia Pieria (Syria I) für den Dienst eingeteilt. Die Hafenstadt war Durchgangsort für viele Reisende zu Schiff. Ioannes‘ Lebensbeschreibung betont, dass sie mehrere Tage bleiben durften, Tag und Nacht verweilten und den Reisenden auch Nahrung angeboten wurde.[58]

Der Mönchsvater Sabas (+532) richtete ein von seinem Hauptkloster Mâr Saba abhängiges *xenodocheion* in Jericho ein. Als dieses von einem gewissen Thomas aufgesucht wurde, waren Sabas sowie Theodoros und Paulos, die Äbte von Kastellion bzw. Choziba, zugegen. Sabas wies den *xenodochos* an, der Gruppe Speis und Trank zu servieren und fragte ihn, ob Wein vorrätig sei. Da der *xenodochos* dies verneinte,[59] sah sich Sabas veranlasst, Essig in Wein zu verwandeln. Aus der Erzählung lässt sich schlussfolgern, dass *xenodocheia* höhergestellten Gästen mitunter Wein anboten.

In der *Vita Sabae* sind ebenfalls *xenodochoi* erwähnt. Sabas setzte den Bruder Iakobos als Vorsteher des *xenodocheions* und dessen Koch ein.[60] Sein Amtsnachfolger war Ioannes Hesychastes, der bereits am Bau des *xenodocheions* mitgewirkt hatte, dann für die Besucher arbeitete und ebenfalls als Koch charakterisiert wird.[61] Der Sty-

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καταγώγιον, ὑπὸ Βασιλείου τοῦ Καισαρείας ἐπισκόπου οἰκοδομηθέν, ἀφ’ οὗ τὴν προσηγορίαν τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔλαβε καὶ εἰσέτι νῦν ἔχει.

[56] Palladios von Helenopolis, *Dialogus de vita sancti Ioannis Chrysostomi* 6, hrsg. Paul R. Coleman-Norton (Cambridge, 1928), 35, Z. 6–10: 1000 Solidi.

[57] Kallinikos, *Vita Hypatii abbatis Rufinianensis*, Kap. 40, Z. 27–36, hrsg. Gerhard J. M. Bartelink (Paris, 1971), 240–242.

[58] *Vita Ioannis abbatis Aphtoniae*, Kap. 4, hrsg. François Nau (1902), 115 und 126. Zu Ioannes‘ Aufenthalt, siehe John W. Watt, „A Portrait of John Bar Aphtonia, Founder of the Monastery of Qenneshre,“ in *Portraits of Spiritual Authority: Religious Power in Early Christianity, Byzantium and the Christian Orient*, hrsg. Jan W. Drijvers und John W. Watt, Religions in the Greco-Roman World, Bd. 137 (Leiden, 1999), 155–169, hier 160–161.

[59] Kyrillos von Skythopolis, *Vita Sabae*, Kap. 46, 136, Z. 20–27: Ποίησον ἡμῖν δεῖπνον. αὐτῶν δὲ δειπνούντων, ἐρωτηθεὶς ὁ ξενοδόχος εἰ ἔχει οἶνον, ἀπεκρίνατο μηδ’ ὅλως ἔχειν.

[60] Kyrillos von Skythopolis, *Vita Sabae*, Kap. 40, 130, Z. 28–31.

[61] Kyrillos von Skythopolis, *Vita Iohannis Hesychastae*, Kap. 5–6, hrsg. Eduard Schwartz (Leipzig, 1939), 205, Z. 15 – 206, Z. 14.

lit Symeon der Jüngere (+592) ließ ein *xenon* in seinem Klosterkomplex errichten[62] und wies bei seiner Fertigstellung um 590 die *sündhaften* Brüder seiner Gemeinschaft an, dort Dienst zu tun.[63]

Für den westlichen Mittelmeerraum fließen die Nachrichten spärlicher: Augustinus übergab die Leitung eines von ihm gegründeten *xenons* an einen gewissen Priester Leporius (um 410).[64] Papst Pelagius I. (556–561) wies im März 559 Bischof Helpidius von Catania an, den Priester Maurus als Abt eines örtlichen Johannesklosters mit angeschlossenem *xenodochium* einzusetzen.[65] Papst Gregor der Große (590–604) erwähnt in einem Brief den Diakon Crescens, den Vorsteher eines nicht näher bezeichneten *xenodochiums* in Palermo, dem er offenbar kein höheres Amt zutraute.[66] In zwei weiteren Briefen nennt er das stadtrömische *xenodochium Valerii*, das von einem gewissen Antonius im Weihegrad eines Subdiakons geleitet wurde und der im Rechtsstreit mit dem Abt von Lucuscana (Kloster bei Palermo) lag.[67] In einem seiner weiteren Briefe erwähnt er überdies das stadtrömische *xenodochium Anichiorum* unter Leitung des Diakons Florentius als von einem aktuellen Testament begünstigt.[68] Das letztgenannte *xenodochium* behauptete sich als eines von insgesamt vier auch noch im Rom des 8. Jhs.[69]

Anhand der spätantiken Zeugnisse lässt sich ableiten, dass das Hauptaufgabenfeld eines *xenodochos* die Organisation der Küche, die Buchführung und die Sicherung gegen Gesindel umfasste.[70] Hieronymus (+420) hob hervor, dass Mönche, die sich der Fremdenaufnahme und Armenfürsorge (*peregrinorum susceptio, defensio pauperum*) widmen wollen, körperlich fit und nicht zu alt sein sollten.[71]

Erst ab der zweiten Hälfte des 9. Jhs. liegen wieder vermehrt Zeugnisse zu *xenodochoi* vor. Patriarch Photios tadelte in mehreren Briefen einen *xenodochos* und Diakon namens Georgios (zu dem anderweitig nichts bekannt ist[72]) für seine Völlerei, Habsucht und Trunksucht (im Zeitraum 859–867).[73] Offenbar hatte er sich an den Vorräten bedient, die für die Gäste gedacht waren. Einem anderen *xenodochos* namens Damianos schrieb Photios, dass ein Vorsteher gerecht sein solle und sich ganz dem Nutzen der Armen verschreiben müsse.[74] Es wird aus den Briefen erkennbar, dass die Vernachlässigung der Aufgaben der Vorsteher ein stetes Problem für die beaufsichtigenden Bischöfe darstellte.

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[62] Arkadios von Konstantia, *Vita Symeonis Stylitae iunioris*, Kap. 99, hrsg. Paul van den Ven (Brüssel, 1962), Bd. 1, 76, Z. 14–16.

[63] Arkadios von Konstantia, *Vita Symeonis Stylitae iunioris*, Kap. 164, Bd. 1, 146, Z. 16–17.

[64] Augustinus, *Serm.* 356.10, in *PL* 39, 1578.

[65] Papst Pelagius I., *ep.* 42, hrsg. Pius M. Gassó und Columba M. Batlle (Montserrat, 1956), 116–117.

[66] Papst Gregor I., *ep.* 13.12, hrsg. Dag L. Norberg (Turnhout, 1982), 1012, a. 602.

[67] Papst Gregor I., *ep.* 9.67, 62–623; 9.83, 637–638, a. 598/99.

[68] Papst Gregor I., *ep.* 9.8, 569–570, a. 598.

[69] *Liber Pontificalis*, 98, hrsg. Louis Duchesne (Paris, 1892), Bd. 2, 25, Z. 13–20. Boshof, „Armenfürsorge," 277. Zu den stadtrömischen *xenodocheia*: Riccardo Santangeli Valenzani, „Pellegrini, senatori e papi: gli xenodochia a Roma tra il V e il IX secolo," *Rivista dell'istituto di archeologia e storia dell'arte* 19/20 (1996–97): 203–226.

[70] Constantelos, *Byzantine Philanthropy*, 160–161.

[71] Hieronymus, *ep.* 52.3.2, hrsg. Isidor Hilberg (Wien, 1996), 416.

[72] *PmbZ* #2260.

[73] Photios, *ep.* 46, hrsg. Basileios Laourdas und Leendert G. Westerink (Leipzig, 1983), Bd. 1, 92; *ep.* 62, Bd. 1, 109; *ep.* 89–90, Bd 1, 127–128 und *ep.* 96, Bd. 1, 131.

Eine wichtige Quelle für die Verhältnisse im 9. Jh. ist überdies Theodoros Studites (+826). Das Studioskloster, dem Theodoros vorstand, hatte sowohl ein *xenodocheion* als auch ein *nosokomeion*, die Theodoros stets sorgfältig voneinander getrennt behandelte. Obgleich das Typikon (ὑποτύπωσις) des Klosters aus dem 9. Jh. nicht vollständig erhalten ist,[75] lässt sich rekonstruieren, dass Mönche anderer Klöster und Laien, die Novizen werden wollten, bis zu drei Wochen im *xenodocheion* verweilen durften.[76] Bzgl. der *xenodochoi* ordnete Theodoros an, dass sie die Gäste respektvoll empfangen, ihnen die Füße waschen und sich aufrichtig um sie kümmern sollten – bei Nichtbefolgung ordnete er 100 Kniebeugen an.[77] Falls der *xenodochos* das Bett nicht mache und vorbereite[78] oder den Schlafraum nicht pflege,[79] müsse er fasten. Theodoros‘ Studites gesteigerte Aufmerksamkeit an der Beherbergung im Kloster lässt sich auch an den ihm zugeschriebenen jambischen Epigrammen ablesen. Eines handelt, entgegen seinem später beigefügten Titel „Auf das *xenodocheion*“ von dessen Vorsteher und war vielleicht am Eingang angebracht:[80]

> Tretet heran an dieses gastfreundliche Dach, ihr Wanderer, die ihr von Mühen erschöpft seid! Nehmt von meinen Gastgeschenken, vom ersehnten Brot, das das Herz ernährt, von dem süßen Getränk, das reichlich fließt, und von den Bedeckungen, die die Kälte fernhalten, Freunde! Denn sie gab mir, dem Theognostos[81] von seinen glücksverheißenden Gaben mein Herr Christus, der

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[74] Photios, *ep.* 109, Bd. 1, 149, Z. 15–19: Λῦσον, ἄνθρωπε, τῷ πένητι τὴν συμφοράν, ἀποδιδοὺς τὸ ἀδίκημα καὶ τὰ τραύματα θεραπεύων εὐεργεσίας ἐλαίῳ. εἰ δὲ τοῦ πένητος ὑπερορᾷς, ἀλλ’ οὖν τὴν ἐμὴν λῦσον συμφοράν, μᾶλλον δὲ τὴν σήν· ἡ σὴ γὰρ μείζων καὶ τῆς τοῦ πένητος καὶ ἡμῶν, κἂν οὔπω ταύτης, οἴμοι, συναίσθησιν ἔχῃς.

[75] Hans-Georg Beck, *Kirche und theologische Literatur im byzantinischen Reich* (München, 1959), 494. Dirk Krausmuller and Olga Grinchenko, „The Tenth-Century Stoudios-Typikon and its Impact on Eleventh- and Twelfth-Century Byzantine Monasticism,“ *JÖB* 63 (2013): 153–175, bes. 153–155.

[76] Theodoros Studites, *Hypotyposis*, 24, in *PG* 99, 1712: Ἰστέον ὡς ὅτε δεχόμεθα ἀδελφοὺς, εἴτε ἀπὸ ἄλλου μοναστηρίου, εἴτε λαϊκοὺς πρὸς τὸ μονάσαι, ποιοῦμεν αὐτοὺς καθεσθῆναι εἰς τὸ ξενοδοχεῖον ἑβδομάδας β΄, ἢ καὶ γ΄, πρὸς θεωρίαν καὶ πεῖραν τοῦ μοναστηρίου. Die Regelung wurde von Athanasios Athonites für seine Klosterregel übernommen: Athanasios Athonites, *Diatyposis Laurae*, hrsg. Philipp Meyer (Leipzig, 1894), 133, Z. 36 – 146, Z. 6.

[77] Theodoros Studites, *Poenae monasteriales*, 82–84, in *PG* 99, 1744: Ἐὰν μὴ ὑποδέχεται καλῶς τοὺς ξένους μετὰ πάσης εὐλαβείας, νίπτων τοὺς πόδας αὐτῶν, καὶ κοιτάζων αὐτοὺς ἁρμοδίως, μετάνοιαι ρ΄.

[78] Theodoros Studites, *Poenae monasteriales*, 82–84, in *PG* 99, 1744: Ἐὰν ἐάσῃ ἄστρωτον τὴν κλίνην, καὶ μὴ τὰ ἐν τῇ διακονίᾳ σκεπάσματα ἀνατινάσση, καὶ περιποιῆται, ξηροφαγείτω.

[79] Theodoros Studites, *Poenae monasteriales*, 82–84, in *PG* 99, 1744: Ὡσαύτως καὶ ἐὰν μὴ φιλοκαλῇ τὸν κοιτῶνα διὰ τῆς ἑβδομάδος.

[80] Der Titel ist inkorrekt, s. Paul Speck, *Theodoros Studites, Jamben auf verschiedene Gegenstände* (Berlin, 1968), 174. Vermutlich hieß es „Auf den *xenodochos*“.

[81] Mit Speck, *Theodoros Studites, Jamben*, 174, als Eigenname aufzufassen. *PmbZ* #8004.

> Reichtumverströmende. Ihr aber lobet ihn als Welternährer und vergeltet mir nur mit einem Gebet, dass ich dort auf gastfreundliche Weise in Abrahams Schoß gelangen kann.[82]

Es wird deutlich, dass der *xenodochos* den Besuchern unentgeltlich Speise, Trank und Bedeckung anbieten sollte. Der *xenodochos* wird überdies gemahnt, dass fürderhin er im Himmel um Gastfreundschaft bitten wird und sich im irdischen Leben entsprechend verhalten solle. Dieser Gedanke erscheint auch in einem weiteren Epigramm: Jeder, der Gäste bewirtet, beherbergt Christus; deshalb bewirtet hier bereitwillig die Fremden, und man wird euch auf wunderbare Weise (im Himmel fürderhin) bewirten.[83] In einem weiteren Gedicht spricht Theodoros Studites den Besucher an:

> Wenn du kommst, lass‘ dich, wer du auch seist, nieder ohne Übermut, denn hier ist Gottes Haus, mein Freund. Klopf‘ an, sag‘ den Grund, weshalb du da bist, dann warte geduldig eine kurze Zeit auf den Bescheid. Wenn du dann eintrittst mit Furcht und Liebe, gib deinem Herrn deine Gebete, sage aber nichts von den Eitelkeiten des Lebens, denn du bist hier bei Leuten, die dem Leben entflohen sind. Aber wenn etwas Erhabenes, etwas Angenehmes in deinen Worten ist, dann antworte, sprich zu allem, was sich gehört, damit du wohlbehalten und gerettet von hier umkehrst und nach Hause eilst.[84]

Als Leitgedanke erscheint hier, dass der Besucher das Kloster so wenig wie möglich beeinflussen soll, damit kein Böses ins Kloster dringe. Wenn der Gast überhaupt mit den Mönchen interagiere, so soll er nur Wohlgefälliges verlauten lassen.

Etwa zur gleichen Zeit stiftete Theodulf von Orléans ein *xenodochium* und thematisierte seine Gründung ebenfalls in einem Gedicht *In xenodochio* (um 800/10), in dem er den Nutzen für die ansässigen Bewohner wie auch für die durchreisenden Fremden betont.[85]

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[82] Theodoros Studites, *Jamben* 29, hrsg. Paul Speck (Berlin, 1968), 173 = *PG* 99, 1792: Εἰς τὸ ξενοδοχεῖον· προβᾶτε, δεῦτε, τῇ ξενιζούσῃ στέγῃ, | ἄνδρες πορευταί, τοῖς πόνοις κεκμηκότες, | μετεκλάβοιτε τῶν ἐμῶν ξενισμάτων· | ἄρτου ποθητοῦ, τοῦ τρέφοντος καρδίαν, | ποτοῦ γλυκείου, τοῦ ῥέοντος ἀφθόνως, | σκεπασμάτων τε τῶν ψύχους ἀλλωτρίων, | ἅ μοι παρέσχε, τῷ Θεογνώστῳ, φίλοι, | ἐκ τῶν πανόλβων δωρεῶν αὐτοῦ χάριν | ὁ Δεσπότης μου Χριστός, ὁ πλουτοβρύτης· | ἐπευλογοῦντες αὐτὸν ὡς κοσμοτρόφον, | κἀμοὶ προσευχὴν ἀντιποιοῦντες μόνον, | ὅπως ἐκεῖθεν, τῷ φιλοξένῳ τρόπῳ, | τοὺς Ἀβραὰμ τύχοιμι κόλπους εἰσδύναι.

[83] Theodoros Studites, *Jamben* 105, 270 (Cod.Barb.gr. 76, fol. 33^{r}): Χριστὸν ξενίζει πᾶς διατρέφων ξένους· | δι’ ὃ προθύμως τῇδε τοὺς ξενουμένους | μάλα τρέφοιτε, καὶ τραφήσεσθε ξένως.

[84] Theodoros Studites, *Jamben* 23, 161 = *PG* 99, 1789 corr.: Εἰς ὁδίτην· ἐλθὼν καθέζου πᾶς τις ὕβρεως δίχα· | θεοῦ γάρ ἐστιν οἶκος ἔνθαπερ, φίλε. | κρούσας δὲ λέξον αἰτίαν, καθ’ ἣν πάρει, | πρὸς μικρὸν αὖτε μακροθυμῶν τὴν φάσιν. | εἴσω δὲ βαίνων σὺν φόβῳ τε καὶ πόθῳ | τῷ Δεσπότῃ σου τὰς προσευχάς σου δίδου. | μηδὲν δὲ φάσκε τῶν ματαίων τοῦ βίου, | συντυγχάνων γε τοῖς φυγοῦσι τὸν βίον. | ἀλλ’ εἴ τι σεμνόν, εἴ τι τερπνὸν ἐν λόγοις, | ἀποκρίθητι, φράζε πρὸς πᾶν, ὃ πρέπει, | ἵν’ εὐαγῶς ἐνθένδε καὶ σωτηρίως | παλινστροφήσῃς εἰς τὰ οἰκεῖα τρέχων.

[85] Theodulf von Orléans, *Carm.*, 59, hrsg. Ernst Dümmler (Berlin, 1881), 554–555: En patet ista domus mediocri exacta paratu, | utcumque humanis usibus apta tamen. [...] Det pater altithronus donum hoc habitantibus istic, | civibus ut pateat, et, peregrine, tibi; [...]. Boshof, „Armenfürsorge,“ 308, Anm. 179.

3.2 Die Stellung der *Xenodochoi*

Aufgrund ihrer Aufgaben in der Armenfürsorge und Wirtschaftsführung gelang es Anstaltsvorstehern nicht selten, Bischofskathedren zu besteigen. Als ein frühes Beispiel lässt sich der Vorsteher Euphemios des *ptochotropheion* von Neapolis am Bosporos anführen, der Patriarch von Konstantinopel (489–495) wurde.[86] Menas, der Vorsteher des weithin bekannten *xenons* des Sampson in Konstantinopel, das auf Krankenfürsorge spezialisiert war, wurde ebenfalls Patriarch von Konstantinopel (536–552). Ein Vorsteher des *xenons* des Euboulos wurde als Paulos II. Patriarch von Antiocheia (519–521).[87] Ein späterer Amtsnachfolger des Paulos war der aus Thrakien stammende Domninos (545–559), der zuvor *xenodochos* in Lychnidos gewesen war.[88] Dort war er besonders mit der Armenfürsorge befasst gewesen, wie sich aus der Vita des Symeon Stylites ergibt. Die Einrichtung ist möglicherweise mit Prokops [φρούριον] τοῦ πτωχείου zu verbinden, das letzterer in derselben Provinz (Epirus Nova) verortet.[89] Vermutlich leitete Domninos eine Mischanstalt mit einem Schwerpunkt auf der Armenfürsorge. Die Vita des Symeon Stylites informiert gehässig, dass Domninos in Konstantinopel wegen Amtsgeschäften zufällig im Palast auf Justinian getroffen war und nur deshalb für den Patriarchensitz nominiert wurde.[90]

Vor seiner Bestellung zum Erzbischof von Kreta (ca. 711–740) diente Andreas von Kreta als Vorsteher des *xenons* von τὰ Εὐγενίου in Konstantinopel (um 685–711).[91] Einige *gerokomoi* der Hauptstadt gelangten ebenfalls auf Bischofsstühle. Ioannes, der Vorsteher des *gerokomeion* von τὰ Δεξιουκράτους, das angeblich in der ersten Hälfte des 5. Jhs. gegründet worden sein soll,[92] wurde Patriarch von Konstantinopel (669–675).[93] Zunächst war Petros Vorsteher des *gerokomeions* von Klemens, dann des *orphanotro-*

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[86] *Catalogus patriarcharum Constantinopolitanorum*, hrsg. Franz Fischer (Leipzig, 1884), 287, Z. 5–7.

[87] Theophanes, *Chronographia*, s. a. 6011, 165; Malalas, *Chronographia*, 17.6, 411, Z. 19–20. Pauline Allen, „Episcopal Succession in Antioch in the Sixth Century," in *Episcopal Elections in Late Antiquity*, hrsg. Johan Leemans et al. (Berlin, 2011), 23–38, hier 27–28.

[88] Arkadios von Konstantia, *Vita Symeonis Stylitae iunioris*, Kap. 72 und 202–204, 62 und 176–177. Kommentar von Den Ven in Bd. 2, 79; Euagrius, *Historia ecclesiastica*, 4.37, hrsg. Joseph Bidez und Leon Parmentier (London, 1898), 186. Allen, Episcopal Succession, 30.

[89] Prokopios von Kaisareia, *De aedificiis*, 4.4.3.

[90] Arkadios von Konstantia, *Vita Symeonis Stylitae iunioris*, Kap. 72, 62, Z. 2–6.

[91] Niketas Patrikios, *Vita Andreae Cretensis*, Kap. 5, hrsg. Athanasios Papadopoulos-Kerameus (St. Petersburg, 1888), 174, Z. 16–20. *PmbZ* #362.

[92] *Patria Constantinopolitanis*, 3.72, 241. Raymond Janin, *La siège de Constantinople et le patriarchat oecuménique: les églises et les monastères*, 2. Auflage (Paris, 1969), 553–554; Berger, *Patria Konstantinupoleos*, 475–476.

[93] Nikephoros Kallistos Xanthopoulos, *Catalogus patriarcharum Constantinopolitarum*, in *PG* 147, 457; *Catalogus patriarcharum Constantinopolitanorum*, hrsg. Fischer, 289, Z. 11–13. Jan-Louis van Dieten, *Geschichte der Patriarchen von Sergios I. bis Johannes VI. (610–715)* (Amsterdam, 1972), 121–122; *PmbZ* #2704.

pheions in Neapolis (s.o), bevor er auf den Patriarchenthron gelangte (654–666).[94] Ein weiterer solcher Fall liegt bei Patriarch Thomas II. (667–669) von Konstantinopel vor, der zuvor der *gerokomos* der Σκάλα gewesen war.[95] Es wird deutlich, dass insbesondere die großen Anstalten der Hauptstadt, mit ihren Verbindungen zu Patriarchat und Palast, als Ort der Rekrutierung für herausgehobene Bistümer fungierten.

3.3 Die Praxis der Gästeaufnahme

Die Zeugnisse erweisen, dass die meisten *xenodocheia* unter bischöflicher Aufsicht Kleriker und Mönche sowie Laien auf Pilgerschaft beherbergten. *Xenodocheia* bildeten für „Männer des Glaubens“ nicht nur einen Kontrapunkt zu gewerblichen Gasthäusern (πανδοχεῖα, gelegentlich unbestimmter als καταγώγια, i. e. „Zufluchtsstätten“, bezeichnet), sondern auch den staatlicherseits unterhaltenen Herbergen für reisende Amtsträger, die ἀπαντητήρια genannt wurden. Der Gegensatz zwischen beiden Einrichtungen wird besonders in der Vita des Georgios von Choziba (+ um 625, verfasst um 640) entfaltet:

> Es war die gesegnete Herrin (sc. Muttergottes), die ihre (sc. der Klostergemeinschaft) Arbeit korrigierte, so dass dieser heilige Ort nun eine Raststätte (ἀναπαυστήριον) für die Armen und die Fremden ist und nicht eine Herberge (ἀπαντητήριον) allein für die Reichen.[96]

Ein archäologisch greifbares ἀπαντητήριον liegt im Zentrum des Komplexes von Alahan manastır (Isauria);[97] überdies erscheint der Terminus in einigen spätantiken Dokumenten.[98]

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[94] Nikephoros Kallistos Xanthopoulos, *Catalogus patriarcharum Constantinopolitarum*, in *PG* 147, 457; *Catalogus patriarcharum Constantinopolitanorum*, hrsg. Fischer, 289, Z. 1–4. Van Dieten, *Patriarchen*, 106–116; *PmbZ* #5941. Der Standort der Anstalt erwähnt im Eintrag zu Klemens (23.1.) im *Synaxarium ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae*, hrsg. Hippolyte Delehaye (Brüssel, 1902), 418. Janin, *La siège de Constantinople*, 555.

[95] Nikephoros Kallistos Xanthopoulos, *Catalogus patriarcharum Constantinopolitarum*, in *PG* 147, 457; *Catalogus patriarcharum Constantinopolitanorum*, hrsg. Fischer, 289, Z. 6–10. Van Dieten, *Patriarchen*, 117–120; Janin, *La siège de Constantinople*, 557; *PmbZ* #8407.

[96] *Vita Georgii Chozebitae*, Kap. 25, hrsg. Charles Houze, „Sancti Georgii Chozebitae confessoris et monachi Vita auctore Antonio eius discipulo,“ *AB* 7 (1888): 95–144, 336–372, hier 125, Z. 5–7: Ἦν γὰρ ἡ εὐλογημένη δέσποινα, διορθουμένη τὴν ἐργασίαν αὐτῶν, ὅτι ὁ τόπος ὁ ἅγιος οὗτος τῶν πτωχῶν καὶ τῶν ξένων ἐστὶν ἀναπαυστήριον, καὶ οὐ τῶν πλουσίων μόνον ἀπαντητήριον.

[97] Mary Gough, *Alahan: An Early Christian Monastery in Southern Turkey* (Toronto, 1985), 22–23: Τάρασις ὁ κτίσας τὰ ἀπαντητήρια.

[98] Belegt für Soloi (Zypern) und Omboi (Thebais) sowie in einigen Papyri: Jean Gascou, „Deux inscriptions byzantines de Haute-Égypte (réédition de I. Thèbes-Syène 196 r° et v°),“ *TM* 12 (1994): 323–342, hier 323–336; Timothy B. Mitford, „Some New Inscriptions from Early Christian Cyprus,“ *Byz* 20 (1950): 105–175, hier 151–154; Mentzou-Meimari, „Ἐπαρχιακὰ εὐαγὴ ἱδρύματα,“ 304; Norman Wetzig, „Alahan Manastir: Alte Befunde – Neue Deutungen,“ *Olba* 22 (2014): 393–444, hier 425, Anm. 130.

Mehrfach findet sich die Bestimmung, dass Kleriker auf Reisen nur in *xenodocheia* einkehren sollten.[99] Dies findet sich auch hinlänglich in den Quellen dokumentiert: Der nachmalige Bischof Abraamios von Krateia besuchte während einer Pilgerreise in Palästina die Laura des hl. Sabas und wurde im dortigen *xenodocheion* beherbergt (frühes 6. Jh.).[100] Der Wandermönch Ioannes Moschos besuchte um 605 die von ihm als „*xenodocheion* der Väter“ bezeichnete Anstalt in Askalon.[101] Leider berichtet er ansonsten selten von den Unterkünften, die er bei seinen ausgedehnten Reisen aufsuchte.

Nachdem *xenodocheia* seit dem 5. Jh. zum üblichen Anlaufpunkt für ortsfremde Kleriker geworden waren, wurde es denkbar und schließlich gängig, ins Exil geschickte Bischöfe in Klöster oder *xenodocheia* zu internieren. Beispielsweise wurde Philoxenos von Hierapolis/Mabbug i. J. 519 in einem bischöflichen *xenodocheion*, vermutlich in Philippopolis (Thracia), festgehalten,[102] wo er letztlich i. J. 523 auch verstarb. Dieses Schicksal soll auch andere Severianer ereilt haben: Kashish von Chios, der nachmalige Bischof der Insel, besuchte etwa i. J. 553 das von Kaiserin Theodora gestiftete *xenodocheion* auf derselben Insel, in dem er verbannte Bischöfe antraf.[103] Ioannes von Ephesos berichtet, dass Kaiser Justin II. miaphysitische Priester und Bischöfe in Gefängnisse, Praetoria, Klöster und *xenodocheia* einkerkerte, wo sie aufgrund ihres fortgeschrittenen Alters häufig verstorben seien.[104] Das Einkerkern von Heiden und Häretikern in *xenones* (mit Dienstverpflichtung) und Klöster wird auch in Bezug auf den *magister militum per Orientem* Amantius berichtet (um 555).[105] Als späterer Fall lässt sich Ioseph von Thessalonike anführen, der i. J. 831 wegen der Vorhersage des baldigen Todes des Kaisers Theophilos im *xenon* des Sampson interniert wurde.[106]

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[99] Rabbula von Edessa, *Syntagma canonum*, Canon 22, hrsg. Robert R. Phenix und Cornelia Horn (Atlanta, 2017), 108.

[100] Kyrillos von Skythopolis, *Vita Abramii*, hrsg. Eduard Schwartz (Leipzig, 1939), 245, Z. 9–14.

[101] Ioannes Moschos, *Pratum spirituale*, 189, in *PG* 87, 3068.

[102] Philoxenos von Hierapolis, *Ep. ad monachorum*, hrsg. André de Halleux (Leuven, 1963), 76–78. Zacharias Rhetor, *Historia ecclesiastica*, 8.5a, hrsg. Erenst W. Brooks (Louvain, 1919), 77–82; übers. Robert R. Phenix (Liverpool, 2011), 299, lokalisiert das *xenodocheion* in Gangra, wo Philoxenos aber nur zwischenzeitlich inhaftiert war. Julia Hillner, *Prison, Punishment and Penance in Late Antiquity* (Cambridge, 2015), 224, 285.

[103] Ioannes von Ephesos, *Vitae sanctorum orientalium*, 51, hrsg. Ernest W. Brooks (Paris, 1925), Bd. 3, 161–162.

[104] Ioannes von Ephesos, *Historia ecclesiastica*, 3.2, hrsg. Ernest W. Brooks (Louvain, 1952), 89.

[105] Arkadios von Konstantia, *Vita Symeonis Stylitae iunioris*, Kap. 164, Z. 16–19, 146: […] τινὰς δὲ αὐτῶν ἐν τοῖς ξενῶσιν ὑπηρετεῖν προσέταξεν, καὶ ἄλλους κληρικοὺς δῆθεν ἑαυτοὺς ὀνομάζοντας ἐν μοναστηρίοις κατηχηθῆναι παραδέδωκεν, […]. *The Prosopography of the Later Roman empire*, hrsg. J. R. Martindale, Bd. 3, AD 527–641 (Cambridge, 1992), 52–54 s.v. Amantius 2; Hillner, *Prison*, 290.

[106] *Vita Euthymii archiepiscopi Sardensis*, Kap. 14, Z. 273–274, hrsg. Jean Gouillard, 41. *PmbZ* #3448.

Weitaus üblicher war aber freilich die Beherbergung von Reisenden.[107] Um Pilger von solchen Gästen zu unterscheiden, die nur unter dem Deckmantel geistlicher Wanderschaft ihr Leben bestritten oder von ihrer Gemeinde verstoßen waren, wurde es zur Gewohnheit, sich von den Ankömmlingen Empfehlungsschreiben vorlegen zu lassen.[108] Pilger ließen sich daher vor Beginn der Reise einen Brief von ihrem Ortsbischof ausfertigen, den sie beim Zutritt eines *xenodocheions* vorzeigten.[109]

Eine erste kirchenrechtliche Regelung dazu ist bereits in den sog. Apostolischen Kanones aus dem Antiocheia des späten 4. Jhs. zu fassen (im frühen 6. Jh. von Dionysius Exiguus ins Lateinische übersetzt):

> Μηδένα τῶν ξένων ἐπισκόπων ἢ διακόνων ἄνευ συστατικῶν προδέχεσθαι, καὶ ἐπιφερομένων δὲ αὐτῶν ἀνακρινέσθωσαν·[110]
>
> Nullus episcoporum peregrinorum aut presbitorum aut diaconorum sine commendaticiis suscipiatur epistulis; et cum scripta detulerint, discutiantur intentius.[111]
>
> Kein fremder Bischof oder Priester oder Diakon soll ohne Empfehlungsschreiben empfangen werden, und nachdem sie das Schreiben beibringen, sollen sie geprüft werden.

Ein frühes Beispiel hierfür ist ein armenischer Aristokrat (Satrap) unter römischer Oberhoheit, der dem Symeon Stylites d. Ä. Briefe mehrerer Bischöfe vorlegte (Mitte 5. Jh.).[112] In der von Sophronios verfassten Wundersammlung der Heiligen Kyrrhos und Ioannes wird von einem gewissen Theodoros aus Konstantinopel berichtet, der mit Geleitbriefen

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107 Denys Gorce, *Les voyages, l'hospitalité et le port des lettres dans le monde chrétien des IV^{e} et V^{e} siècles* (Paris, 1925), 57–59.

108 Severin, „Pilgerwesen und Herbergen," 330; Kötting, *Peregrinatio*, 378. Puzicha, *Christus peregrinus*, 61–63.

109 Diese Briefe sind in den Beschlüssen von Chalkedon (451) als kirchliche Friedensbriefe bezeichnet und von offiziellen Ermächtigungsschreiben für reisende Amtsträger (συστατικὴ ἐπιστολή) geschieden: *Concilium Chalcedonense, Canon* 11, hrsg. Joannou, Bd. 1, 78–79; Sozomenos, *Historia ecclesiastica*, 5.16.3, 217; Theodoros Anagnostes, *Epitome*, 135, hrsg. Günther C. Hansen (Berlin, 1995), 59; Just. Nov. 86.8. Studien: Severin, „Pilgerwesen und Herbergen," 330; Kurt Treu, „Christliche Empfehlungs-Schemabriefe auf Papyrus," in *Zetesis: Album amicorum door vrienden en collega's aangeboden aan Prof. E. de Strycker*, hrsg. Théodore Lefèvre (Antwerpen, 1973), 629–636; Hiltbrunner, *Gastfreundschaft*, 186; Kislinger, *Gastgewerbe*, 48. Zuletzt dazu: Timothy M. Teeter, „Letters of Recommendation or Letters of Peace?" in *Akten des 21. intern. Papyrologenkongresses*, hrsg. Bärbel Kramer (Berlin, 1997), 954–960. Zu den Geleitbriefen (salvacondotii): Otto Kresten, „Der Geleitbrief: Ein wenig beachteter Typus der byzantinischen Kaiserurkunde. Mit einem Exkurs zur Verwendung des Terminus Sigillion in der byzantinischen Kaiserkanzlei," *Römische historische Mitteilungen* 38 (1996): 41–83, hier 75–76. Zum 12. Jh.: Chryssa A. Maltezou, „Ἄδειες ἐλεύθερης κυκλοφορίας ($12^{\text{ος}}$–$15^{\text{ος}}$ αἰ.): συμβολή στήν ἐρευνα τοῦ θεσμοῦ τῶν διαβατηρίων ἐγγράφων," in *Θυμίαμα στη μνήμη της Λασκαρίνας Μπούρα*, hrsg. Lusi Bratzioti (Athen, 1994), 173–179.

110 *Syntagma canonum apostolicorum*, 35, Bd. 2, 23.

111 Dionysius Exiguus, *Codex canonum ecclesiasticorum*, Canon 33, hrsg. Adolf Strewe (Berlin, 1931), 8.

112 *Vita syriaca Symeonis Stylitae senioris*, Kap. 68, hrsg. Hans Lietzmann (Leipzig, 1908), 116.

das Heiligtum besuchte (6. Jh.).[113] Die Praxis bischöflicher Geleitbriefe blieb durchgehend in Gebrauch, wie die Pilgerberichte zu Fromund (855)[114] und Bernard dem Mönch (867) bezeugen; letzterer teilt mit:

“So suchten wir in Rom Papst Nikolaus auf und erhielten zur Weiterreise die erbetene *licentia* zusammen mit seinem Segen und seiner Unterstützung”.[115]

Im Hinblick auf die begrenzte Aufnahmekapazität und, um die Kosten zu schonen, wurde außerdem die Beherbergung zeitlich begrenzt. Das früheste Zeugnis dafür stammt aus dem Kontext der Eremitagen in der Nitrischen Wüste (Ägypten) im 5. Jh., wo Besucher gegebenenfalls länger im *xenodocheion* verweilen durften, aber nach einer Woche Aufenthalt wurde ihnen Arbeit zugemutet, sei es im Garten, in der Bäckerei oder in der Küche.[116] Als Bischof Porphyrios von Gaza mit der Unterstützung von Kaiserin Eudoxia eine Kirche samt *xenon* errichten ließ, plante er zunächst, drei Tage Aufenthalt zu gestatten.[117] Bei Fertigstellung wurde jedoch die Verweildauer der Besucher (genannt werden Arme sowie auswärtige und ansässige Bedürftige) auf einen Tag begrenzt. Porphyrios legte fest, dass jedem Gast täglich sechs Folles (ὀβολοί, Scheidmünzen) auszuzahlen und Kleidung nach Bedarf auszugeben seien.[118]

Ähnlich detaillierte Bestimmungen über die Behandlung der Gäste begegnen erst wieder in mittelbyzantinischer Zeit. Michael Maleinos (+961) sah für das von ihm gegründete *xenodocheion* neben seinem Kloster auf dem Berg Kyminas (Bithynien) vor, dass Reisende Rast und Proviant erhalten sollten.[119]

Michael Attaleiates legte für sein *xenodocheion* in Rhaidestos (Thrakien, 1077) fest, dass es als Raststation (εἰς ἀνάπαυσιν) für Reisende sowie als *ptochotropheion* für Arme dienen solle, wo wöchentlich zwei Modioi Brot und ein Metron Wein an die Bedürftigen verteilt werden sollten.[120]

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[113] Sophronios, *Miracula Cyri et Iohannis*, 60.4, hrsg. Natalio Fernandéz Marcos (Madrid, 1975), 377.

[114] *Vita Fromundi* (AASS Oct. X 847): *Perrexerunt itaque trini prius Romam; atque hinc, acceptis a Benedicto III, qui 29 septembris 855 ordinatus fuerat, litteris formatis, Jerosolymam.*

[115] *Itinerarium Bernardi monachi* 1, hrsg. Josef Ackermann (Hannover, 2010), 115: *Igitur adeuntes in Urbe papae Nicholai presentiam, obtinuimus cum sua benedictione necnon et auxilio pergendi desideratam licentiam.*

[116] Palladios von Helenopolis, *Historia Lausiaca*, 7.4, hrsg. Gerhard J. M. Bartelink und Marino Barchiesi (Mailand, 1974), 38: Πρόσκειται δὲ τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ ξενοδοχεῖον, εἰς ὃ τὸν ἀπελθόντα ξένον, μέχρις οὗ ἐξέλθῃ αὐθαιρέτως, δεξιοῦνται πάντα τὸν χρόνον, κἂν ἐπὶ διετίαν ἢ τριετίαν μείνῃ· συγχωρήσαντες δὲ αὐτῷ ἑβδομάδα μίαν ἐν ἀγρίᾳ, τὰς λοιπὰς ἡμέρας περισπῶσιν ἐν ἔργοις, ἢ ἐν κήπῳ ἢ ἐν ἀρτοκοπείῳ ἢ ἐν μαγειρείῳ. Adaptierte Übersetzung Klein, „Von Hesychie zu Ökonomie,“ 57. Dazu: Kislinger, „Kaiser Julian,“ 181; Volk, *Gesundheitswesen*, 35.

[117] *Vita Porphyrii episcopi Gazensis*, Kap. 53, Z. 5–9, hrsg. Anna Lampadaridi (Brüssel, 2016), 132.

[118] *Vita Porphyrii episcopi Gazensis*, Kap. 94, Z. 1–7, 174.

[119] *Vita Michaelis Maleini*, Kap. 15, hrsg. Louis Petit, 561, Z. 21–27: Καὶ τούτων αὖ πάλιν μειζόνως σάλπιγγος γεγονώτερον καὶ εὐηχέστερον ἀνακηρύττει τὸ φιλάνθρωπον καὶ φιλάδελφον τοῦ ἀνδρὸς τὸ κοινὸν ταμεῖον καὶ σωτήριον καταγώγιον, τὸ μέγιστον λέγω ξενοδοχεῖον, ἐν ᾧ πᾶς τις ὁ κατὰ πάροδον καταλύων, ἀναπαύσεώς τε μεγίστης ἠξιωμένος καὶ ταῖς τῶν ἐπιδόσεων χορηγίαις τὸν ἐκ τῆς ὁδοιπορίας κόπον ἀποθέμενος, οὕτω τὸ ἑξῆς τῆς ὁδοῦ νεαρὸς ἀνύει καὶ πρόθυμος. *PmbZ* #25124. Angeliki E. Laiou, „The General and the Saint: Michael Maleinos and Nikephoros Phokas,“ in *Ευψυχία: Mélanges offerts à Hélène Ahrweiler*, hrsg. Michel Balard (Paris, 1998), Bd. 2, 399–412, hier 402.

Gregorios Pakourianos sah im Gründungsstatut seines im Jahre 1083 gegründeten Klosters Petritzos (Thracia) einen dem Hegoumenos unterstellten *xenodochos* vor, der auch die Funktionen eines γηροτρόφος und νοσοκόμος ausüben sollte.[121] Außerhalb des Klosters waren ihm insgesamt drei *xenodocheia* unterstellt. Eines lag in Stenimachos an der *via Militaris*, empfing Reisende und Arme[122] und wurde von einem paroikos und einem *xenodochos* bewirtschaftet, die angewiesen waren, Getreide zu mahlen, Brennholz zu sammeln und die Wasserversorgung sicherzustellen.[123] Die Zahl der Bettlager sollte ausreichend groß sein und im Winter eine angenehme Wärme durch Öfen hergestellt werden.[124] Die beiden übrigen *xenodocheia* lagen in Marmarion an der *via Egnatia* am Ufer des Strymon südlich von Amphipolis bzw. bei Asprobalta an der Ägäisküste.[125] Hier galten dieselben Bestimmungen, die den Reisenden, ausgewählten Armen und Mönchen zugutekommen sollten (εἰς διακονίαν τῶν ὁδοιπόρων τε καὶ πενήτων ἐκλεκτοί τινες καὶ μονάζοντες). Besucher sollten maximal drei Tage beherbergt werden.[126]

Im *xenodocheion* des Euergetes-Klosters vor Konstantinopel sollten Reisende und Kranke nicht nur beherbergt und verpflegt, sondern auch mit gebrauchten Gewändern und Schuhen der Mönche eingekleidet werden (zweite Hälfte 11. Jh.).[127] Ein Fremdenfriedhof (ξενοτάφιον) gehörte zur Klosteranlage,[128] zu der Frauen keinen Zutritt hatten.[129]

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[120] Michael Attaleiates, *Diataxis*, 154–158 und 530–536, hrsg. Paul Gautier, 27 und 49.

[121] Gregorios Pakourianos, *Typikon*, 687, hrsg. Paul Gautier, 61.

[122] Gregorios Pakourianos, *Typikon*, 1530–1551, 111–113. Peter Soustal, *Thrakien (Thrake, Rhodope und Haimimontos)*, Tabula Imperii Byzantini 6 (Wien, 1991), 460–461.

[123] Der *xenodochos* ist in der griechischen Fassung nicht aufgeführt, aber in der georgischen, s. dazu Volk, *Gesundheitswesen*, 102, Anm. 214.

[124] Gregorios Pakourianos, *Typikon*, 1548–1551, 113: Καὶ τεθήτωσαν κράββατοι ἐν τῷ ξενοδοχείῳ τούτῳ πολλοί, καὶ φοῦρνος ἔστω καὶ κλίβανος ἐν αὐτῷ, θερμοὶ ἄμφω, ἵν’ ὅταν ἔλθῃ ἐν ταῖς χειμεριναῖς ἡμέραις ὁ ξένος, ἐν τῷ τοιούτῳ ξενοδοχείῳ θερμαίνηταί τε καὶ στεγάνηται καὶ ἀναπαύηται.

[125] Gregorios Pakourianos, *Typikon*, 1559–1575, 113. Zu Marmarion: Paul Lemerle, „Le typikon de Grégoire Pakourianos (décembre 1083),“ in *Cinq études sur le XI^{e} siècle byzantin*, hrsg. Paul Lemerle (Paris, 1977), 115–191, hier 179.

[126] Gregorios Pakourianos, *Typikon*, 164,9–11 und 228,27–31.

[127] *Typicon Euergetis monasterii*, 1165–1171, hrsg. Paul Gautier, 81: Ἡ ἐν τῷ πυλῶνι διάδοσις, καὶ ἡ τῶν ξένων καὶ ἀσθενῶν ἀνάπαυσίς τε καὶ ἐπίσκεψις, δι’ οὓς καὶ τὸ ξενοδοχεῖον ἐκ φιλοχρίστου τινὸς τὸν τόπον ἐξαιτησάμενοι ἀνηγείραμεν, ἐφ’ ᾧ καὶ παρεγγυώμεθα τοὺς ξένους τε ἀναπαύειν ἀδελφούς, καὶ τοὺς ἀσθενοῦντας αὐτῶν ἀνακλινομένους τῆς κατὰ δύναμιν ἐπιμελείας ἀξιοῦσθαι, γυμνητεύοντάς τε καὶ ἀνυποδητοῦντας ἐνδιδύσκειν τε καὶ ὑποδύειν τοῖς παλαιοῖς ὑμῶν χιτῶσι καὶ ὑποδήμασιν, οὐκοῦν οὐ παρ’ ὑμῶν αὐτῶν διδομένοις [...].

[128] *Typicon Euergetis monasterii*, 1177, 83.

[129] *Typicon Euergetis monasterii*, 1194–1195, 83.

Athanasios Athonites wies an, dass allen zu Lande und zur See Ankommenden Gastfreundschaft erwiesen werden müsse (Ende 10. Jh.).[130] Er gründete nicht nur für die Megiste Laura ein *xenodocheion* mit angrenzendem Nosokomeion,[131] sondern sorgte auch für eine Unterkunft an der Anlegestelle des Klosters (τῶν ἐν τῷ λιμένι καταγωγίων) für Seeleute, die einen Sturm oder anderes Unglück überdauern mussten,[132] wo sie von Mönchen versorgt wurden.[133]

Das Typikon von Mâr Saba sieht in seiner aus dem 11. Jh. stammenden Redaktion vor, dass Novizen bis zu sieben Tage bleiben durften, Pilger hingegen nur drei Tage.[134] Im Typikon Nikons vom Schwarzen Berge für das Kloster τοῦ Ῥοιδίου lag die Obergrenze ebenfalls bei drei Tagen.[135] Dieselbe Regel galt im Kloster Galesion (11. Jh.)[136] und im Kloster Machairas auf Zypern (1210).[137]

3.4 Die kaiserlichen *Xenodocheia*

Wie bereits angesprochen, wurden wohltätige Anstalten nicht selten auch von Kaisern gestiftet – auch in der Zeit nach Justinian. Bspw. habe Kaiser Maurikios (582–602) in Arabissos (Armenia III), seinem Geburtsort, unter vielen anderen Bauten ein *xenodocheion* errichten lassen.[138] Über Kaiserin Eirene (780–802) wird berichtet, dass sie in Konstantinopel *gerokomeia*, *ptochotropheia* und *xenodochei*a errichtet habe.[139] Gemeint ist damit wohl der von ihr gegründete Große *xenon* im Deuteron, der auch noch im 10. Jh. bestand.[140] Gemeinsam ist diesen kaiserlich geförderten Anstalten, dass sie ähnlich wie die privat gestifteten in bischöfliche Obhut übergingen. Nach dem byzantinischen Vorbild findet sich auch im italischen und fränkischen Raum des 8. Jhs. eine entlang der Stifter getroffene begriffliche Unterscheidung zwischen königlichen, bischöflichen und privaten *xenodocheia*.[141]

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[130] Athanasios Athonites, *Diatyposis Laurae*, 130, Z. 13–15: Τῆς δὲ φιλοξενίας ὑμῶν πλειόνως ἐπιμελεῖσθε καὶ μὴ καταλύσητε τὸν τύπον, ὃν παρέδωκα ὑμῖν διὰ τοὺς ἐπιξενομένους καὶ παραβάλλοντας ὑμῖν διά τε γῆς καὶ θαλάσσης.

[131] *Vita Athanasii prima*, Kap. 81, Z. 8–10, hrsg. Jacques Noret (Turnhout, 1982), 37; *Vita Athanasii secunda*, Kap. 25, Z. 26–27, hrsg. Jacques Noret (Turnhout, 1982), 151–152. Ein Gast des Klosters, Athanasios, blieb mit seinem Kind eine Woche im *xenodocheion*: *Vita Athanasii secunda*, Kap. 74, Z. 1–22, 207–208.

[132] *Vita Athanasii secunda*, Kap. 25, 152, Z. 46–51: Περὶ δὲ τῶν λοιπῶν χρειωδῶν οἰκημάτων καὶ ἐκκλησιῶν, φυτεύσεώς τε ἀμπελώνων καὶ δένδρων, καὶ ἑτέρας ἀνοικοδομῆς ἡσυχαστηρίων καὶ κελλίων τῶν ἐν τοῖς μετοχίοις τοῖς ἐν τῷ ὄρει, τῶν ἐν τῷ λιμένι καταγωγίων καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν αύτουργημάτων αὐτοῦ, οὐκ ἔστι δυνατὸν διηγεῖσθαι ἱστορίας γὰρ ἔργον τοῦτο καὶ οὐχὶ βίου διήγησις.

[133] Athanasios Athonites, *Diatyposis Laurae*, 114, Z. 20–22.

[134] *Typicon Sabae laurae*, 8, hrsg. Eduard Kurtz, 170, Z. 48–52.

[135] Nikon Mauroreites, *Tacticon*, 2.8–9, hrsg. Christian Hannick (Freiburg, 2014), 142.

[136] *Vita Lazari Galesiotae*, Kap. 150, in *AASS* Nov. III, 552–553. Constantelos, *Byzantine Philanthropy*, 153; Rosemary Morris, *Monks and Laymen in Byzantium, 843–1118* (Cambridge, MA, 1995), 214–215.

[137] Neilos von Tamassos, *Typicon Machairae monasterii*, 116, hrsg. Ioannes P. Tsiknopoullos (Nikosia, 1969), 50, Z. 16–28. Volk, *Gesundheitswesen*, 231.

[138] Ioannes von Ephesos, *Historia ecclesiastica*, 5.22, 273–274 und 207, Z. 2–20.

[139] *Vita Nicetae abbatis Mediciensis*, Kap. 4 (*AASS* Apr. I, Appendix XXVIII); dies erscheint gleichlautend in *Patria Constantinopolitanis*, 3.85, 246. Paul Magdalino, „Medieval Constantinople,“ in *Studies on the History and Topography of Byzantine Constantinople*, hrsg. Paul Magdalino (Aldershot, 2007), 1–111, hier 32.

Eine Sonderform der *xenodocheia* allerdings, die nur in Byzanz vorkommt, sind jene *xenodocheia*, die im Unterschied zu den karitativen Anstalten, die nach ihrer kaiserlichen Förderung in bischöfliche Aufsicht übergingen, dauerhaft in kaiserlicher Obhut blieben.[142] Sie erscheinen erstmals im Jahre 544 in Abgrenzung von den üblichen *piae causae* unter bischöflicher Obhut.[143] Diese Anstalten hatten Vorsteher im Laienstand, aber Kleriker in ihrem Personalbestand, die die meist vorhandene Kapelle in einer Anstalt betreuten. Zwar unterlagen die Kleriker der bischöflichen Aufsicht, aber die Institution und ihr Vorsteher waren dem Kaiser unterworfen.[144]

Die Zeugnisse für die kaiserlichen Wohlfahrtsanstalten umspannen den Zeitraum vom 6. bis zum 10. Jh. Michel Kaplan stellte die Hypothese auf, dass jene Anstalten zuvor unter bischöflicher Verwaltung gestanden wären, dann im 7. und 8. Jh. unter kaiserliche Verwaltung kamen und anschließend vergleichbar mit den kaiserlichen Gütern (*domus divinae*, θεῖαι οἰκίαι/βασιλικαὶ οἰκίαι) organisiert wurden.[145] Diese Annahme ist aber nicht zwingend, zumal die ersten kaiserlichen Anstalten bereits vor der Mitte des 6. Jhs. erscheinen (etwa zeitgleich mit den ersten kaiserlichen Klöstern).

Als der chronologische Ausgangs- und topologische Endpunkt für die kaiserlichen *xenodochien* ist wohl die von Prokop Kaiser Justinian zugeschriebene Einrichtung am früheren Stadion von Konstantinopel aufzufassen:

> Da der Kaiser hier (sc. in Konstantinopel) residiert und aufgrund des Umfangs des Reiches, strömt eine bunte Menschenmenge aus aller Welt in der Stadt zusammen. Jeder von ihnen betritt sie, geleitet wegen irgendeiner Angelegenheit, einer Hoffnung oder aus Zufall, und es sind viele, die sich mit einer Bitte an den Kaiser wenden, da bei ihnen zuhause die Dinge nicht gut stehen. Sie lassen sich in der Stadt nieder aus einer Not heraus, sei sie zwingend, drängend oder noch heraufziehend. Sie haben nun zu ihrer sonstigen Bedrängnis auch kein Obdach, da sie ihren hie-

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[140] *Patria Constantinopolitanis*, 3.85, 246; Kaiser Konstantin VII., *De ceremoniis*, 1.41, hrsg. Gilbert Dagron und Bernard Flusin (Paris, 2020), 315, Z. 44.

[141] Boshof, „Armenfürsorge," 270–271. Mit Boshof, „Armenfürsorge," 332, gilt es jedoch festzuhalten, dass private Initiativen kaum belegt sind, sondern die bischöflichen Gründungen bei weitem häufiger belegt sind.

[142] Kislinger, „Reisen und Verkehrswege," 369–370.

[143] Just. Nov. 120.6.1, a. 544.

[144] Anders als Boojamra, „Christian Philanthropia," 367.

[145] Michel Kaplan, „Maisons impériales et fondations pieuses: réorganisation de la fortune impériale et assistance publique de la fin du VIII^{e} siècle à la fin du X^{e} siècle," in *Byzance: villes et campagnes*, hrsg. Michel Kaplan (Paris, 2006), 167–183, hier 170–173. Die dort (S. 172) bemerkte privilegierte Gleichbehandlung der *domus divinae* und *piae causae* in Rechtsfragen im 10.–11. Jh. muss nicht so interpretiert werden, dass alle *piae causae* in kaiserlichem Besitz waren und dem Sakellion unterstanden.

> sigen Aufenthalt nicht bezahlen können. Dieser Missstand wurde für sie von Kaiser Justinian und Kaiserin Theodora behoben. Denn nahe dem Meer bei dem Ort, der Stadion genannt wird – ich denke er war einst für gewisse Wettkämpfe bestimmt –, erbauten sie übergroße *xenones*, die den Notleidenden ein zeitweiliges Obdach gewährten.[146]

Die Funktion dieser Anstalt ergibt sich bereits aus ihrem Standort etwas südlich des Fährhafens für aus Chalkedon kommende Boote und im Umfeld des Sitzes des *praefectus praetorio per Orientem* an den Pittakia. Aus Prokops Beschreibung lässt sich ableiten, dass die Anstalt den Östlichen Provinzialen erleichtern sollte, Eingaben bei der Präfektur persönlich vorzubringen und an Prozessen teilzunehmen.[147] Tatsächlich wurden viele Prozesse in Konstantinopel ausgefochten, die die Provinzjustiz überforderten: In Novelle 23 (a. 535 oder 536) wurde festgelegt, dass für Provinziale ab einem Streitwert von zehn Goldpfund eine Anhörung des Falls in Konstantinopel zulässig war.[148]

Laniado hat diese neugegründete Anstalt, das erste kaiserliche *xenodocheion*, überzeugend in einen Kontext mit Novelle 80 (a. 539) gesetzt, die auf eine Ordnung und Beschleunigung der Appellationen in Konstantinopel abzielte und das neue Amt des *quaesitor* (ἐρευνητής) als Hüter dieser Ordnung schuf.[149] Der neue Amtsträger sollte Fremde in Konstantinopel aufspüren und sie aus der Kapitale ausweisen, sofern sie keinen validen Grund für ihre Anwesenheit vorbringen konnten.[150] Die erklärte Absicht war, unproduktive Aufenthalte von Bauern in der Kapitale sowie ungewollte

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[146] Prokopios von Kaisareia, *De aedificiis*, 1.11, Z. 24–27: Τῇδε τοῦ βασιλέως τὰ διαιτητήρια ἔχοντος, διὰ μέγεθος τῆς βασιλείας, ἐκ πάσης γῆς ὅμιλος ἀνθρώπων τῇ πόλει παντοδαπὸς ἐπεισέρχεται. παραγίνεται δὲ αὐτῶν ἕκαστος ἢ πράξει τινὶ ποδηγούμενος ἢ ἐλπίδι ἢ τύχῃ, πολλοὶ δέ τινες, οἷς δὴ τὰ κατὰ τὴν οἰκίαν οὐκ ἐν καλῷ κεῖται, βασιλέως δεησόμενοι, τῇ πόλει ἔνδημοι γίνονται διὰ βίαν τινὰ ἢ πιέζουσαν ἢ ἐγκειμένην ἢ μέλλουσαν. οἷσπερ συμβαίνει πρὸς τῇ ἄλλῃ ἀμηχανίᾳ καὶ οἰκίας ὑποσπανίζειν, οὐχ οἵοις τε οὖσι τὴν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐνταῦθα διατριβῆς προέσθαι μίσθωσιν. ταύτην δὲ αὐτοῖς βασιλεύς τε Ἰουστινιανὸς καὶ ἡ βασιλὶς Θεοδώρα τὴν ἀπορίαν διέλυσαν. τῆς γὰρ θαλάσσης ὡς ἀγχοτάτω, ἵνα δὴ Στάδιον ὁ χῶρος καλεῖται (ἀγῶσι γάρ, οἶμαι, τὸ παλαιὸν ἀνεῖτό τισι) ξενῶνας ὑπερμεγέθεις ἐδείμαντο, τοῖς τὰ τοιαῦτα ταλαιπωρουμένοις ἐπὶ καιροῦ γενησομένους καταλυτήρια. (Übers. Max Ritter)

[147] Kislinger, „Reisen und Verkehrswege," 372, Anm. 188.

[148] Just. Nov. 23.3; indirekt ist die Summe auch durch Just Nov. 103.1 (a. 536) bezeugt. Flavia Christodote aus Oxyrhynchos lag mit einem in Alexandria tätigen Banker im Streit um 61 Goldpfund und erklärte i. J. 574 in einem Eid gegenüber dem protector civitatis von Alexandria ihre Bereitschaft, zur Appellation nach Konstantinopel zu gehen: James G. Keenan, „The Case of Flavia Christodote: Observations on PSI I 76," *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 29 (1978): 191–209, hier 193,4–5. Siehe auch Jane L. Rowlandson, *Women and Society in Greek and Roman Egypt: A Sourcebook* (Cambridge, 1998), 205–206.

[149] Just. Nov. 80.1–4. Avshalom Laniado, *Ethnos et droit dans le monde protobyzantin, V^{e}–VI^{e} siécle: fédérés, paysans et provinciaux à la lumière d'une scholie juridique de l'époque de Justinien* (Geneva, 2015), 213–216.

[150] Denis Feissel, „Aspects de l'immigration à Constantinople d'après les épitaphes protobyzantines," in *Constantinople and its Hinterland*, hrsg. Cyril A. Mango und Gilbert Dagron (Aldershot, 1995), 367–377, hier 367–369. Einen Hinweis auf das latente Problem des ständigen Zustroms von Fremden gibt auch Ioannes Lydos, *De magistratibus*, 3.70.2, hrsg. Michel Dubuisson und Jacques Schamp (Paris, 2006).

Immigration zu unterbinden. Die Arbeit des *quaesitor* wurde durch die gegründete Anstalt sicherlich vereinfacht, da sie mittellose Neuankömmlinge anzog. Es ist nicht zu vermuten, dass die Einrichtung zuvörderst der Spionageabwehr dienen sollte,[151] da Spione eine solche Anstalt ohnehin vermieden hätten, sondern sie bot den aus der Provinz stammenden Untertanen eine Hilfe. Sowohl die Anstalt am Stadion als auch das Amt des *quaesitor* lassen sich in den anschließenden Jahrhunderten weiterverfolgen. Das kaiserliche *xenodocheion* ist unter Justin II. als εὐαγὴς δεσποτικὸς ξενών bezeugt.[152] Es scheint seinen Standort später gewechselt zu haben, da es im 9. Jh. im Bereich von τὰ Μαυριανοῦ am Makros Embolos belegt ist. In dieser Zeit wurde den Gästen auf kurze Frist nicht nur Beherbergung, sondern auch Verköstigung geboten.[153] So wurde auch ärmeren Provinzialen, die nicht auf die Hilfe durch Verwandte in der Hauptstadt setzen konnten, in Rechtsangelegenheiten eine Reise nach Konstantinopel erleichtert.

Es stellt sich die Frage, ob eine solche kaiserliche Unterstützung bereits auf dem Wege, im Vorfeld Konstantinopels gewährt wurde. Es gibt Hinweise darauf, dass auf der kleinasiatischen Seite in wichtigen Fährhäfen nach Konstantinopel am jeweiligen Endpunkt der Hauptverkehrsachsen zu etwas späterer Zeit weitere kaiserliche *xenodocheia* eingerichtet wurden. Diese Hauptverkehrsachsen wurden im 6. Jh. noch durch den *cursus velox* (ὀξὺς δρόμος) bedient, den aber nur Amtsträger und Bischöfe nutzen durften.[154] Prokop selbst erwähnt zwar den Bau von Unterkünften für Amtsträger in Helenopolis,[155] erwähnt aber die in der Folgezeit bezeugten kaiserlichen *xenodocheia* noch nicht. Ihre Einrichtung ist also wohl erst nach Justinian erfolgt. Vermutlich lassen sich die seit dem 8. Jh. dokumentierten *xenodocheia* von Loupadion, Nikaia, Pylai und Nikomedeia nicht auf beliebige, ehemals von Laien gegründete *xenodocheia* zurückführen, die später in kaiserliche Verwaltung übergingen, bespielsweise in Zusammenhang mit den oben (S. 241) erwähnten Fiskalmaßnahmen Kaiser

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[151] Anders als Kislinger, „Reisen und Verkehrswege," 371–372.

[152] Georges Zacos and John W. Nesbitt, *Byzantine Lead Seals*, Bd. 2 (Bern, 1984), Nr. 129.

[153] Theophanes Continuatus, *Historia*, 6.44, hrsg. Immanuel Bekker (Bonn, 1838), 430, z.Zt. Romanos I. Lakapenos (920–944). Dieser setzte Bemühungen Basileios I. fort, die bei Theophanes Continuatus, *Historia*, 5.31, hrsg. Ihor Ševčenko (Berlin, 2011), 122, gelobt und in der *Eisagoge*, 5.1–2, hrsg. Ioannes Zepos und Panagiotes Zepos, in *JGR* 2:244–245, erwähnt werden. Constantelos, *Byzantine Philanthropy*, 149; Berger, *Patria Konstantinupoleos*, 443–444.

[154] Prokopios von Kaisareia, *De aedificiis*, 30.8–9 schildert den Verfall des Postsystems im Umfeld von Nikomedeia; Ioannes Lydos, *De magistratibus*, 3.61.5, beschreibt eine Abschaffung des *cursus velox* in der Diözese Asiana zur gleichen Zeit (540er Jahre). Arnold H. M. Jones, *The Later Roman Empire, 284–602: A Social, Economic and Administrative Survey* (Oxford, 1964), Bd. 2, 833–834; Pascal Stoffel, *Über die Staatspost, die Ochsengespanne und die requirierten Ochsengespanne: Eine Darstellung des römischen Postwesens auf Grund der Gesetze des Codex Theodosianus und des Codex Iustinianus* (Frankfurt am Main, 1994), 12–14.

[155] Prokopios von Kaisareia, *De aedificiis*, 5.2.5. Siehe auch Klaus Belke, „Von der Pflasterstraße zum Maultierpfad? Zum kleinasiatischen Wegenetz in mittelbyzantinischer Zeit," in *Η Βυζαντινή Μικρά Ασία (6ος–12ος αιώνας)*, hrsg. Stylianos Lampakes (Athen, 1998), 267–284, hier 271–272, der korrekt betont, dass Helenopolis nicht als Fährhafen etabliert werden konnte; diese Rolle übernahm vielmehr Pylai.

Nikephoros I. (802–11). Wie wir sehen werden, bestanden einige dieser Anstalten bereits vor seiner Herrschaft.[156] Es ist viel naheliegender, von einer kaiserlichen Initiative bereits bei ihrer Entstehung auszugehen.

Leider finden wir fast keine Zeugnisse über konkrete Besucher, die diese Anstalten beherbergten. Auffällig ist aber, dass abseits von den großen patriarchalen *xenones* in Konstantinopel bislang nur diesen vier kaiserlichen Anstalten Bleisiegel eindeutig zuzuordnen sind. Dieser Befund legt nahe, dass sie eine herausgehobene Bedeutung besaßen, die bischöfliche *xenodocheia* weit übertraf, und dass sie einen regelmäßigen Schriftwechsel mit der Zentralverwaltung unterhielten.

Loupadion (Λουπάδιον)

Loupadion war ein Weiler am westlichen Ende des heutigen Ulubat Gölü, der seinen Aufstieg in den Dunklen Jahrhunderten einem Brückenübergang über den Rhyndakos verdankte, der ab dieser Stelle bis zur Propontis schiffbar war.[157] Von Loupadion bestand Fährverkehr nach Konstantinopel wie die Vita des Lazaros Galesiotes bezeugt.[158] Auch bei al-Masʿūdī erscheint es als eines der sechs Zugangswege nach Konstantinopel.[159]

Das dortige *xenodocheion* stand unter kaiserlicher Kontrolle[160] und ist erstmals durch einen Brief des Theodoros Studites erwähnt. Theodoros wurde im Februar 797 auf Befehl des Kaisers unter Arrest gestellt und durch das westliche Bithynien eskortiert. Darüber schrieb er seinem Onkel Platon:[161]

> Danach rasteten wir in Loupadion, weil wir gütigerweise Mitleid vom *xenodochos* erfuhren, nutzten wir auch das Bad für unsere Wunden (denn die hatten sich durch den Marsch verschlimmert) und stiegen anschließend weiter nach Tilis ab.[162]

In einem späteren Brief (um 815/18) dankte er wohl demselben *xenodochos* persönlich, woraus wir seinen Namen, Georgios, erfahren.[163] In diesem Brief rekurriert Theodoros erneut auf das Motiv von Abrahams Bewirtung der Engel. Für die Folgezeit ist das *xenodocheion* von Loupadion durch eine Reihe von Siegeln belegt, die aufgrund der Ämternennungen seine kaiserliche Unterstellung anzeigen. Der erste bekannte Amtsträger ist ein gewisser Epiphanios, βασιλικὸς κουβικουλάριος καὶ ξενοδόχος τοῦ Λουπαδίου des 8./9. Jhs.[164] Aus der Frühzeit stammt auch das Siegel eines Theognostos aus dem Zeitraum 750–850.[165] Etwas später anzusetzen ist ein Georgios, erste Hälfte 9. Jh.[166] (vermutlich, mit Fatouros,[167] mit dem Georgios aus Theodoros‘ Studites Brief gleichzusetzen). Fürderhin wären noch ein gewisser Basileios, βασιλικὸς σπαθάριος καὶ ξενοδόχος τοῦ Λουπαδίου, um 850–950,[168] ein Christophoros, βασιλικὸς κουβικουλάριος καὶ ξενοδόχος τοῦ Λουπαδίου, Wende 9./10. Jh.[169] und ein Pantoleon, βασιλικὸς στάτωρ καὶ ξενοδόχος τοῦ Λουπαδίου, 10. Jh. anzuführen.[170]

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[156] Dies impliziert die Erklärung von Kaplan, „Maisons impériales et fondations pieuses,“ 170–173.

[157] Klaus Belke, *Bithynien und Hellespont*, Tabula Imperii Byzantini 13 (Wien, 2020), 740.

[158] *Vita Lazari Galesiotae*, Kap. 94, in *AASS* Nov. III, 537. Einige Brüder vom Klosterberg Galesion hatten auf dem Weg nach Konstantinopel Lopadion passiert und waren dort auf einen Schiffer getroffen.

[159] Al-Mas‘ûdī, *Kitāb al-Tanbīh wa-l-išrāf*, 140, hrsg. Michael J. de Goeje (Leiden, 1894), übers. Bernard Carra de Vaux (Paris, 1897), 193.

[160] Jacques Lefort, « Les communications entre Constantinople et la Bithynie, » in *Constantinople and its Hinterland*, hrsg. Cyril A. Mango und Gilbert Dagron (Aldershot, 1995), 207–218, hier 209.

[161] Theodoros Studites, *ep.* 3, hrsg. Georgios Fatouros (Berlin, 1992), Bd. 2, 220. – Regest: Bd. 1, 143*–146*.

[162] Theodoros Studites, *ep.* 3, Bd. 1, 14, Z. 81–84: Ἐκ τῶνδε κατεπαύσαμεν ἐν τῷ Λουπαδίῳ, φιλοφρόνως συμπαθηθέντες παρὰ τοῦ ξενοδοχοῦντος, χρησάμενοι τε καὶ λουτρῷ διὰ τοὺς μώλωπας (γεγόνασι γὰρ καί τινων δυσίατοι ἀπὸ τῆς ὁδοιπορίας), καὶ κατήχθημεν εἰς Τίλιν.

[163] Theodoros Studites, *ep.* 102, Bd. 2, 220.

Nikaia (Νίκαια)

Nikaia war ein wichtiger Knotenpunkt für den Verkehr nach Konstantinopel, in dem zu unbekannter Zeit ebenfalls ein kaiserliches *xenodocheion* eingerichtet wurde.[171] Die Anstalt ist zwar ausschließlich, dafür aber umso reichlicher, durch Siegel des 9. und 10. Jhs. dokumentiert. Am aussagekräftigsten ist das Siegel eines gewissen Manuel, βασιλικὸς πρωτοσπαθάριος, ἐπὶ τῶν οἰκιακῶν καὶ ξενοδόχος Νικέας, 9./10. Jh.[172] Das erstgenannte Amt signalisiert, dass Manuel zusätzlich kaiserliche Domänen im Umland von Nikaia verwaltete.[173] Die kaiserliche Unterstellung tritt auch bei Niketas, βασιλικὸς ξενοδόχος καὶ γηροκόμος Νικαίας, von der Wende 9./10. Jh.,[174] offen hervor. Spätere Vorsteher sind ein NN., μοναχὸς καὶ […] κουβικουλάριος, 10. Jh.,[175] und Michael, βασιλικὸς πρωτοσπαθάριος, ἐπὶ τοῦ Χρυσοτρικλίνου καὶ ξενοδόχος Νικαίας, zweite Hälfte 10. Jh.[176]

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[164] Gustave L. Schlumberger, *Sigillographie de l'Empire byzantin* (Paris, 1884), 246, Nr. 1.

[165] John W. Nesbitt and Nicholas A. Oikonomides, *Catalogue of Byzantine Seals at Dumbarton Oaks and in the Fogg Museum of Art* (Washington, D.C., 1991/2009), 3.55.5 = Zacos and Veglery, *Byzantine Lead Seals* (Basel, 1972), Nr. 2459. Ein weiteres Exemplar in Jean-Claude Cheynet, *Les sceaux byzantins de la collection Savvas Kofopoulos* (Paris, 2022), 3.125

[166] Nesbitt and Oikonomides, *Byzantine Seals*, 3.55.4 = Zacos and Veglery, *Byzantine Lead Seals* (Basel, 1972), Nr. 1938.

[167] Theodoros Studites, *ep.* 102, Bd. 1, 14. – Regest: Bd. 1, 228* mit Anm. 291.

[168] Nesbitt and Oikonomides, *Byzantine Seals*, 3.55.3 = Zacos and Veglery, *Byzantine Lead Seals* (Basel, 1972), Nr. 1779 (mit irriger Lesung), korrigiert in Besprechung von Werner Seibt in *Byzantinoslavica* 36 (1975): 211.

[169] Zacos and Nesbitt, *Byzantine Lead Seals*, Bd. 2, 111a–b.

[170] Zacos and Nesbitt, *Byzantine Lead Seals*, Bd. 2, 266 (Datierung korr.).

[171] Belke, *Bithynien und Hellespont*, 802.

[172] Schlumberger, *Sigillographie*, 381 Nr. 6 = 250 Nr. 1 (Datierung korr.).

[173] Jean-Claude Cheynet, „Épiskeptitai et autres gestionnaires des biens publics (d'après des sceaux de l'IFEB)," *Studies in Byzantine Sigillography* 7 (2002): 87–117, hier 117, zeigt, dass diese Verwalter fast nur in Bithynien und in den kürzlich (um/nach 950) eroberten Gebieten an der Ostgrenze erscheinen; in beiden Großräumen waren die meisten kaiserlichen Domänen im 10. Jh. konzentriert. Die Aufgabenkombination bestärkt die These von Kaplan, „Maisons impériales et fondations pieuses," 173, dass die kaiserlichen *xenodocheia* durch die *domus divinae* querfinanziert wurden.

Pylai (Πύλαι) und Sangaros (Σαγγαρός)

Pylai war ein Fährhafen, der wegen der nahen Heilquellen bei Pythia bereits im 6. Jh. gelegentlich von Angehörigen des Kaiserhauses besucht wurde.[177] Das *xenodocheion* von Pylai ist erstmals durch einen Grenzstein aus der Herrschaftszeit Konstantins VI. (780–797) bezeugt, der in Ciftlik Köyü nahe Yalova gefunden wurde.[178] Bemerkenswerterweise ist für diesen Kaiser auch eine Kurreise nach Prousa für den September 796 dokumentiert, sodass die Grenzziehung wohl anlässlich eines Zwischenaufenthalts veranlasst wurde.[179]

Das *xenodocheion* von Pylai ist zudem durch einen Brief des (damaligen) Bischofs Ignatios von Nikaia an den Hypatos Konstantinos in der ersten Hälfte des 9. Jhs. bezeugt.[180] Ignatios unterrichtet darin über von Bischof von Nikomedia an ihn herangetragene Informationen über den Kurator des *xenodocheions* von Pylai (κουράτωρ τοῦ ξενοδόχου Πυλῶν). Gegenstand des Briefes war, dass er von den naheliegenden Klöstern Gelder als Kontributionen zur Finanzierung des *xenodocheions* eingezogen hatte, was Ignatios als widerrechtlich verurteilte und Konstantinos aufforderte, eine Rückerstattung in die Wege zu leiten.[181] Mango nahm Anstoß daran, dass der Bischof von Nikomedeia Ignatios und dieser wiederum Konstantinos in die Angelegenheit einbezog, wo er doch die Aufsicht über die *xenodocheia* seiner Diözese hätte haben müssen.[182] Auch wenn die näheren Umstände im Dunkeln liegen, lässt sich daraus ableiten, dass das *xenodocheion* gar nicht der Oberaufsicht des Bischofs unterstand. Denn dem Kleterologion des Philotheos (899) lässt sich entnehmen, dass der ξενοδόχος Πυλῶν gemeinsam mit seinen Amtskollegen von Σαγγαρός und Νικομέδεια dem μέγας κουράτωρ in der Behörde des Sakellion unterstand, mithin ein kaiserliches *xenodocheion* war.[183] Das kaiserliche *xenodocheion* von Sangaros lag in dem auch anderweitig im 10. Jh. als Fährstelle genutzten Ort,[184] dem heutigen Engere bei Şenköy, 15 km westl. von Pylai.[185]

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[174] Zacos and Nesbitt, *Byzantine Lead Seals*, Bd. 2, 263.

[175] Nesbitt and Oikonomides, *Byzantine Seals*, 3.59.7: Der Anfangsbuchstabe des Namens ist Γ.

[176] Jean-Claude Cheynet et al., *Les sceaux byzantins du Musée archéologique d'Istanbul* (Istanbul, 2012), 3.74.

[177] Zeugnisse zur Verkehrsfunktion: Ioannes Malalas, *Chronographia*, 18.25 (vermutlich a. 528/29) mit Theophanes, *Chronographia*, s. a. 6025, 186; *Vita Theodori Syceotae*, Kap. 131, hrsg. André-Jean Festugière (Brüssel, 1970), 104, um 600; Leon von Synada, *ep.* 54, Z. 28–36, hrsg. Martha P. Vinson (Washington, D.C., 1985), 86, um 996. Zeugnis zur militärischen Rolle im 10./11. Jh.: Kaiser Konstantin VII., *De ceremoniis* app,. 3, Z. 312–319, hrsg. John F. Haldon (Wien, 1990), 114; Michael Attaliates, *Historia*, 20.3, hrsg. Eudoxos T. Tsolakis (Athen, 2011), 111. Als Zugangsstelle nach Konstantinopel: Al-Masʿûdī, *Kitāb al-Tanbīh wa-l-išrāf*, 140 (Carra de Vaux 193). Der Ort wurde 4,5 km östlich von Yalova lokalisiert: Cyril A. Mango, „The Empress Helena, Helenopolis, Pylae," *TM* 12 (1994): 143–158, hier 157.

[178] Mustafa Şahin, *Bithynische Studien*, Inschriften Griechischer Städte aus Kleinasien 7 (Bonn, 1978), 37, Nr. 4. Taf. 7: +Ὅρος τοῦ ξενοδοχίου Πυλῶν τὰ δόθε(ν)τα δωρεᾷ παρὰ Κωνσταντίνου δεσπότου καὶ Εἰρήνης Αὐγούστης τῆς θεοστέπτου μ(ητ)ρ(ὸ)ς αὐτοῦ.+

[179] Theophanes, *Chronographia*, s. a. 6289, 471.

[180] Die Datierung ist umstritten, muss aber in die Zeit fallen, als Ignatios bereits Bischof war: Ignatios Diakonos, *ep.* hrsg. Cyril A. Mango (Washington, D.C., 1997) plädiert für den Zeitraum 815–826, Thomas Pratsch, „Ignatios the Deacon: Cleric of the Constantinopolitan Patriarchate, Metropolitan Bishop of Nicaea, Private Scholar, Teacher and Writer (a Life Reconsidered)," *BMGS* 24 (2000): 82–101, hier 95, für 830–843 eintretend.

Die weitere Existenz der Anstalt von Pylai ist durch einen Brief des Theodoros Daphnopates an den dortigen *xenodochos* Nikephoros dokumentiert (zwischen 920–945), den er wohl im Rahmen gemeinsamer Verwaltungstätigkeiten kennengelernt hatte. Leider geht der Brief nicht auf die Einrichtung ein.[186] Pylai blieb im 10. Jh. der bevorzugte Küstenort für Kaiser, die nach Anatolien übersetzten.[187] Auch die *xenodochoi* von Pylai siegelten: Erhalten sind zwei Exemplare eines Damianos, βασιλικὸς βεστίτωρ καὶ ξενοδόχος τῶν Πυλῶν aus dem letzten Viertel des 9. Jhs.[188] Die Ämterkumulation zeigt deutlich, dass das *xenodocheion* Teil der kaiserlichen Verwaltung war. Weniger aussagekräftig sind die Siegel eines Gregorios, βασιλικὸς κανδιδάτος καὶ ἐκ προσώπου τῶν Πυλῶν, zweite Hälfte 9. Jh.,[189] und eines Niketas, βασιλικὸς σπαθαροκανδιδάτος καὶ ξενοδόχος τῶν Πυλῶν, der im 9. Jh. amtierte.[190] Im 10./11. Jh. amtierte ein Ioannes, βασιλικὸς πρωτοσπαθάριος, ἐπὶ τοῦ Χρυσοτρικλίνου, κριτὴς καὶ ξενοδόχος Πυλῶν.[191] Unklar ist der Verbleib eines Siegels eines gewissen Theophanes, βασιλικὸς σπαθάριος καὶ ξενοδόχος τῶν Πυλῶν.[192]

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[181] Ignatios Diakonos, *ep.* 6, 36–38.

[182] So Mangos Kommentar zu Ignatios Diakonos, *ep* auf S. 168.

[183] Philotheos, *Kleterologion*, hrsg. Nicholas A. Oikonomides (Paris, 1972), 123, Z. 17–19. Vincent Déroche et al., *Le monde byzantin 750–1204: économie et société* (Paris, 2007), 357. Zum μέγας κουράτωρ, der vom Beginn des 9. bis zum Beginn des 11. Jhs. belegt ist: Kaplan, „Maisons impériales et fondations pieuses," 178–183.

[184] Kaiser Konstantinos VII., *De ceremoniis app.* 3.318, 114.

[185] Belke, *Bithynien und Hellespont*, 984.

[186] Theodoros Daphnopates, *ep.* 37, hrsg. Jean Darrouzès und Leendert G. Westerink (Paris, 1978), 207. Regest: Ebd. 24–25. Nikephoros: *PmbZ* #25579.

[187] Kaiser Konstantinos VII., *De ceremoniis app.*, 3.313–22 und 3.631–636, 114, 134.

[188] Ivan Jordanov, *Corpus of Byzantine Seals from Bulgaria*, Bd. 1 (Sofia, 2003), 154, Nr. 64.1a–b, nochmals: Ivan Jordanov, *Corpus of Byzantine Seals from Bulgaria*, Bd. 3 (Sofia, 2009), 920–921. Jordanov plädiert für eine Identität des Sieglers mit einem Briefkorrespondenten des Photios: Photios, *ep.* 109, Bd. 1, 149; *ep.* 113, Bd. 1, 151–152; *ep.* 195, Bd. 2, 94–95, aus dem Zeitraum 859–867 (*PmbZ* #1211).

[189] Nesbitt and Oikonomides, *Byzantine Seals*, 3.68.1; Cheynet et al., *Les sceaux du Musée archéologique d'Istanbul*, 3.98. Cheynet vermutet, dass er für den Hafen verantwortlich war (und demnach keinen Bezug zum *xenodocheion* hatte).

[190] Cheynet, *Collection Savvas Kofopoulos*, 3.178.

Nikomedeia

Die Hafenstadt hatte eine zentrale Rolle für den Fähr- und Landverkehr nach Konstantinopel aus Paphlagonien und Pontos.[193] Durch die in Philotheos' Kleterologion angeführte Liste haben wir Kenntnis vom kaiserlichen *xenodocheion* in Nikomedeia.[194] Es ist aber bislang nur ein Siegel eines Vorstehers bekannt geworden: Iakobos, βασιλικὸς σπαθάριος καὶ ξενοδόχος Νικομεδείας, zweite Hälfte 9. Jh.[195]

Thessalonike und Konstantinopel

Bisher zeugt nur ein Siegel aus der Mitte des 10. Jhs. von der eventuellen Existenz eines kaiserlichen *xenodocheions* in Thessalonike Die Siegellegende nennt einen Andreas, βασιλικὸς σπαθάριος, ξενοδόχος καὶ βαρδάριος καὶ κουμμερκιάριος Θεσσαλονίκης.[196] Die Siegel der bekannten kaiserlichen xenodocheia lassen erkennen, dass deren Vorsteher im 9. Jh. zumeist im Rang eines βασιλικὸς σπαθάριος standen, deren Vertreter (ἐκ προσώπου) niedriger, während diejenigen mit weiteren Aufgaben sogar den Rang eines πρωτοσπαθάριος einnehmen konnten. Damit rangierten die Vorsteher auf der mittleren Ebene der Würdenhierarchie.

Für das 11. Jh. lassen sich keine Belege für die diskutierten *xenodocheia* anführen. Sie standen offensichtlich dann nicht mehr unter kaiserlicher Obhut, sondern waren bischöflicher oder klösterlicher Kontrolle unterworfen wurden. Ob dies in Veränderungen im Rechtswesen begründet war oder der „gefestigten Sicherheitslage" zuzuschreiben ist,[197] lässt sich anhand der Quellenlage nicht entscheiden. Seitdem lässt sich lediglich in Konstantinopel selbst weiterhin ein Bemühen der Kaiser ausmachen, ein kaiserliches *xenodocheion* zu unterhalten. Kaiser Isaakios II. (1185–1195) richtete am Sophienhafen in der ehemaligen *domus* des homonymen Sebastokrators Isaakios (unklar ist, ob es sich um den Bruder Alexios' I. oder Johannes' II. handelte) ein kaiserliches *xenodocheion* mit 100 Bettlagern samt Stallungen ein.[198] Es ist unklar, ob das *xenodocheion* patriarchal oder kaiserlich organisiert war.

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[191] Nikolaos Zikos, „Βυζαντινά μολυβδοβούλλα του Μουσείου Κομοτηνής," *Studies in Byzantine Sigillography* 2 (1990): 171–184, hier 173 Nr. 3 (gefunden in Maroneia).

[192] Odysseus Andreadou, „Ἔκθεσις τοῦ ἀρχαιολογικοῦ τμημάτος," *Ὁ ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει Ἑλληνικὸς Φιλολογικὸς Σύλλογος* 31 (1907/09): 50–51.

[193] Lefort, „Les communications," 215.

[194] Philotheos, *Kleterologion*, 123,19.

[195] Nesbitt and Oikonomides, *Byzantine Seals*, 3.83.4 = Zacos and Veglery, *Byzantine Lead Seals* (Basel, 1972), Nr. 1995 = Vitalien Laurent, „Sceaux byzantins inédits," *Échos d'Orient* 32 (1933): 35–53, hier 41–42 Nr. 6.

[196] Jean-Claude Cheynet, *Les sceaux byzantins de la collection Yavuz Tatış* (Izmir, 2019), 159–160, Nr. 3.49.

[197] Kislinger, „Reisen und Verkehrswege," 371.

4 Ergebnisse

Im 5. und 6. Jh. entstanden in den städtischen Zentren des byzantinischen Reiches Fremdenherbergen (*xenodocheia*), die institutionell zu den wohltätigen Anstalten (*piae causae*) gehörten. Der Vorsteher einer solchen Einrichtung wurde vom jeweiligen Ortsbischof ausgewählt und wurde daher sehr häufig aus dem Ortsklerus rekrutiert.

Leider erfährt man nur wenig über den Alltag in den Anstalten. Die einschlägigen Konzilsbeschlüsse zielten hauptsächlich darauf ab, das den Herbergen zugeordnete Stiftungsvermögen dauerhaft zu erhalten und dem alleinigen Nutzen der Fremden zu sichern. Auch die narrativen Quellen und die Briefliteratur werfen nur kurze Streiflichter auf die Interaktion zwischen den Vorstehern und den Gästen der Herbergen. Da die Mehrzahl der Quellen aus einem monastischen Blickwinkel geschrieben ist, entsteht der etwas verzerrte Eindruck, dass die *xenodocheia* vor allem von Mönchen auf Wanderschaft besucht wurden.

Die Fremden hatten vor Zutritt einen Empfehlungsbrief ihres Ortsbischofs beizubringen, um den Zugang von Landstreichern zu verhindern und die Gästeaufnahme auf Pilger und Kleriker in offizieller Mission zu begrenzen. Meist war die Aufenthaltsdauer auf drei Tage begrenzt, in dieser Zeit wurde nur einfache Kost gewährt, selten wurde auch gebrauchte Kleidung abgegeben. Höhergestellte Besucher erhielten bessere Bedingungen, Frauen wurden – wenn überhaupt – in einem von den männlichen Unterkünften abgetrennten Bereich aufgenommen. Entschied sich die politische Macht, Bischöfe oder einflussreiche Prediger kaltzustellen, so wurden sie mitunter in loyale Klöster oder kaiserlich abhängige *xenodocheia* arrestiert.

Gerade letztere, die sogenannten kaiserlichen *xenodocheia*, konnten in diesem Beitrag als eine gesonderte Gruppe von *xenodocheia* herausgearbeitet werden. Sie unterschieden sich von den karitativen *xenodocheia* nicht nur darin, dass sie unter kaiserlicher Kontrolle standen, sondern auch dadurch, dass sie vermutlich vorrangig zum Nutzen jener Provinzialen bestanden, die für Rechtsgeschäfte nach Konstantinopel reisen mussten. Sie lassen sich vom 8. bis zum 10. Jh. in den wichtigsten Fährhafen Bithyniens auf dem Weg nach Konstantinopel nachweisen.

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[198] Niketas Choniates, *Historia*, hrsg. Jan-Louis van Dieten (Berlin, 1975), 445, Z. 19–23. Magdalino, „Medieval Constantinople," 52. Die Wortwahl πανδοχεῖον ist im attizistischen Stil des Autors begründet, wie Kislinger, „Reisen und Verkehrswege," 374, Anm. 194, darlegt.

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Beate Böhlendorf-Arslan

Where are the Inns in Byzantine Asia Minor?

Archaeological Evidence of Mansiones, Pandocheia, and Tavernae

> *Palam quaestum facere dicemus non tantum eam, quae in lupanario se prostituit, verum etiam si qua (ut adsolet) in taberna cauponia vel qua alia pudori suo non parcit.*
> Ulpianus 1 ad l. iul. et pap. (Dig. 23.2.43pr.)

Travelers, traders and pilgrims need accommodation on their journeys and at their destinations. Pilgrims spent the night in monasteries and inns on their way.[1] Long-distance travelers especially needed not only overnight accommodation but also places for washing, and sick people needed hospitals.[2] Traders without friendly business contacts also needed a place to stay in foreign towns. Of course, travelers also needed to be fed during their jouneys. In addition to foreign visitors, the residents of cities also stayed in canteens and taverns. Poorer people especially often had no opportunity to cook indoors. There must have been a large number of taverns in the cities and in the countryside.[3]

Nonetheless, taverns and inns in Byzantium had a bad reputation.[4] The innkeeper (πάνδοχος) generally had the reputation of a coupler, who gave not only female staff but also his wife and daughters to customers for money.[5] Notably, the Apostolic Constitutions of the 4th century state that clerics should be excluded from the Lord's Sup-

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[1] Ewald Kislinger, *Gastgewerbe und Beherbergung in frühbyzantinischer Zeit: Eine realienkundliche Studie aufgrund hagiographischer und historiographischer Quellen*, PhD thesis (Vienna, 1982), 40–41; Olivia Remie Constable, *Housing the Stranger in the Mediterranean World: Lodging, Trade, and Travel in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 2003), 18–22.

[2] Separate *xenodocheia* for pilgrims and for the sick are presumed in Abu Mena: Peter Grossmann, "Pilgerunterkünfte in Abū Mīnā," in *Für Seelenheil und Lebensglück. Das byzantinische Pilgerwesen und seine Wurzeln*, eds. Despoina Ariantzi and Ina Eichner, Byzanz zwischen Orient und Okzident 10 (Mainz, 2018), 201–210.

[3] Correspondingly, there are many source documents on the hospitality industry. A basic study here is Kislinger, *Gastgewerbe*. See also Constable, *Housing the Stranger*, 22–39; Otto Hiltbrunner, *Gastfreundschaft in der Antike und im frühen Christentum* (Darmstadt, 2005), 157–210.

[4] See Kislinger, *Gastgewerbe*, 39–43; Hans-Georg Severin, "Pilgerwesen und Herbergen," in *Akten des XII. Internationalen Kongresses für Christliche Archäologie*, vol. 1, ed. Josef Engemann (Münster, 1995), 329.

[5] The close connection between the hospitality business and prostitution existed since ancient times. See the fundamental publication of Kislinger, *Gastgewerbe*, 25–39; Despoina Ariantzi, "Byzantinische Prostituierte. Zwischen Marginalisierung und Reintegration in die Gesellschaft," *Byz* 91 (2021): 1–45, at 20: the case of the mother of St. Theodore of Sykeon. See also the essay by Ewald Kislinger and Despoina Ariantzi in this volume.

Note: The manuscript was finished in 2021. Any inns in Asia Minor identified after this date are excluded.

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per if they have been in a tavern, except when they are forced to stop at a *pandocheion* while travelling. The Council of Laodicea prohibited clerics from visiting taverns altogether.[6] Interestingly, the Church's canonical prohibition of the clergy from visiting taverns was not followed very strictly. Moreover, there were people from the lower clergy who earned money by running a tavern. For instance, a church gravedigger named Romanus ran an inn in Korykos on the side,[7] and the monk Symeon Salos was a water-bearer in a tavern.[8] Moreover, the vita of St. Theodore Sykeon from the middle of the 7th century shows that religious beliefs also brought changes to the hospitality industry.[9] Not every tavern was disreputable. There must have been ordinary inns for hungry people and travelers that could provide a bed for the night.

According to Roman tradition, even in Byzantine times there were rest stops (*mansiones*) or road stations (*mutationes*) at more—or less—regular intervals along the important roads.[10] The public hostels, the *mansiones* or *pandocheia* along the way or in the cities, offered only the most necessary amenities. They were used for overnight stays and meals.

From the 4th century onwards, private individuals and the community accommodated early Christian pilgrims on their journeys and at the pilgrimage destinations. The bishops were responsible for special care of guests; hospitality was one of the highest Christian values.[11] From the 6th century onwards, the house of the bishop or deacons in the cities could not cope with the increase of pilgrimages and the subsequently large number of pilgrims.[12] Only certain special guests could be accommodated in the palaces of the clergy.[13] Therefore, the construction of special hostels for Christians became an urgent necessity. These hostels were called *xenodocheia*, from the Greek word for host, “*xenoi*.”[14] Around the middle of the 4th century, the bishops in the east of the Empire probably built inns, *xenodocheia*, in all large cities. Epiphanius’ heresiological catalogue the *Panarion* states that these inns were built to shelter strangers and to accommodate the sick and lepers. Thus, *xenodocheia* functioned as both hostels and hospitals.[15] Nearly every pilgrimage site had to provide a suitable infrastructure, meaning food and lodging facilities, in order to supply the needs of pilgrims.[16] A good example of this is the pilgrim sanctuary of Qal’at Sim’an in northern Syria with its *xenodocheion*, and the nearby village of Deir Sim’an, where the pilgrims’ inns and hostels were located.[17]

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[6] Canon 24 of the Council of Laodicea, in *Discipline Générale Antique (IIe–IXe)*, vol. 1/2: *Les Canons des Synodes Particuliers*, ed. Périclès-Pierre Joannou (Grottaferrata, 1962), 140. See also Canon 54 of the Apostles and the Commentar of Zonaras, Balsamon, and Aristenos on this Canon in *Σύνταγμα τῶν θείων καὶ ἱερῶν κανόνων τῶν τε ἁγίων καὶ πανευφήμων ᾿Αποστόλων καὶ τῶν ἱερῶν οἰκουμενικῶν καὶ τοπικῶν συνόδων*, eds. Georgios Rhalles and Michael Potles, 6 vols. (Athens, 1852–1856), 2:71–72. Cf. Albert Francis Norman, "Gradations in Later Municipal Society," *The Journal of Roman Studies* 48 1/2 (1958): 80–81.

[7] Monumenta Asiae Minoris Antiqua (= MAMA), vol. 3: *Denkmäler aus dem rauhen Kilikien*, eds. Josef Keil und Adolf Wilhelm (Manchester, 1931), 196–197, no. 677.

[8] Lennart Rydén, *Bemerkungen zum Leben des Heiligen Narren Symeon von Leontios von Neapolis*, Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis 6 (Uppsala, 1970), 92–93; Derek Krueger, *Symeon the Holy Fool: Leontius's Life and the Late Antique City* (Berekely, 1996), 152–154.

[9] *Life of Theodore of Sykeon* ch. 3, ed. André-Jean Festugière, *Vie de Théodore de Sykéon*, 2 vols., Subsidia Hagiographica 48 (Brussels, 1970), vol. 1.

[10] Klaus Belke, "Verkehrsmittel und Reise- bzw. Transportgeschwindigkeit zu Lande im Byzantinischen Reich," in *Handelsgüter und Verkehrswege. Aspekte der Warenversorgung im östlichen Mittelmeerraum (4. bis 15. Jahrhundert)*, eds. Ewald Kislinger, Johannes Koder, and Andreas Külzer (Vienna, 2010), 51.

[11] Hiltbrunner, *Gastfreundschaft*, 161–174; Severin, "Pilgerwesen," 329–330; Edward David Hunt, *Holy Land Pilgrimage in the Later Roman Empire AD 312–460*, 2nd ed. (Oxford, 1984), 67.

[12] Ewald Kislinger, "Pilger und Panegygreis. Zwischen Kult und Kommerz," in *Für Seelenheil und Lebensglück: Das byzantinische Pilgerwesen und seine Wurzeln*, eds. Despoina Ariantzi and Ina Eichner, Byzanz zwischen Orient und Okzident 10 (Mainz, 2018), 359–366, at 360.

1 How Can Byzantine Guesthouses Be Identified in Archaeological Contexts?

But where are the *pandocheia* in main cities such as Nicaea or Amorium with their strategically important position as supra-regional traffic junctions? Where are the *xenodocheia* in great pilgrimage destinations like Myra, Germia, and Euchaita? Where is the *taverna* of Romanos[18] in Korykos? All these towns had hotels and restaurants, but they are not visible in the townscape or archaeological contexts.[19] Even in the case of the larger excavations in ancient cities that continued to exist in Byzantine times, only rarely have facilities for guests been identified so far. In Pergamon, still the landmark of Byzantine urban research, Klaus Rheidt could not identify an inn or a tavern.[20] The rich tradition in Byzantine written sources about hospitality is therefore diametrically opposed to the archaeological findings.[21]

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[13] The building plan of the bishop’s palace of Olympos was designed for the reception of (higher-ranking) guests. See on its architecture and facilities: Gökçen Kurtuluş Öztaşkın, “Olympos Antik Kenti Episkopeion Yapı Topluluğu,” in *2000–2014 Araştırma Sonuçları*, Olympos 1, ed. B. Yelda Olcay Uçkan (Istanbul, 2017), 49–78; Gökçen Kurtuluş Öztaşkın, *Olympos Antik Kenti Episkopeion Yapı Topluluğu*, PhD Thesis (Eskişehir, 2013).

[14] Kislinger, *Gastgewerbe*, 47. See the essay by Max Ritter in this volume.

[15] Michaela Dirschlmayer, “Xenodocheia – Reception Camps for Refugees? About Clerical and Imperial Patronage for the Xenoi,” in *Mobility and Exile at the End of Antiquity*, eds. Dirk Rohmann, Jörg Ulrich, and Margarita Vallejo Girvés, Early Christianity in the Context of Antiquity 19 (Frankfurt, 2018), 161–73; Max Ritter, *Zwischen Glaube und Geld. Zur Ökonomie des byzantinischen Pilgerwesens (4.–12. Jh.)*, Byzanz zwischen Orient und Okzident 14 (Mainz, 2019), 93–96, Hiltbrunner, *Gastfreundschaft*, 182–207; Ewald Kislinger, “Kaiser Julian und die (christlichen) Xenodocheia,” in *Byzantios. Festschrift für Herbert Hunger zum 70. Geburtstag*, eds. Wolfram Hörandner, Johannes Koder, Otto Kresten and Erich Trapp (Vienna, 1984), 171–184.

[16] Kislinger, *Gastgewerbe*, 39–41; Severin, “Pilgerwesen”; Ritter, *Glaube und Geld*, 93–103.

[17] Georges Tchalenko, *Villages antiques de la Syrie du Nord*, Le Massif du Bélus a l’époche Romaine I + II (Paris, 1953), 205–222. Most recently: Ritter, *Glaube und Geld*, 100.

[18] See n. 7.

[19] Mapping of the few inscriptionally-known inns is available in Constable, *Housing the Stranger*, map 1. See also: Toon Putzeys and Luke Lavan, “Commercial Space in Late Antiquity,” in *Objects in*

Taverns and inns must be recognizable to strangers. In Pompeii, the facades of some houses had references to the trade painted on them.[22] This made the store or tavern discernible from the outside. Inscriptions on the lintels of three hostels in Deir Sim'an show another way of identifying them.[23]

The better-researched Roman inns can help to determine the appearance and furnishings of Byzantine taverns, even if the cityscape changes significantly from Late Antiquity onwards, when the changing infrastructure and changes in the otherwise common furnishings of an inn become apparent.[24] In Pompeii, Herculaneum, and Ostia numerous taverns have been excavated. In Pompeii alone, a large number of taverns (163) and hostels is recorded.[25] Anna Kieburg and Steven J. R. Ellis have designated the objects and architectural elements that were necessary in a tavern and could be used for service.[26] In terms of function, Byzantine taverns required, like Roman taverns, a bar or counter, storage facilities for drinks (and possibly also food) as well as dishes, a stove, water supply, and seating.[27] According to Ellis, fixed counters became rare from Late Antiquity onwards.[28] This does not seem to be true, but rather is a sign of the still insufficiently researched infrastructure of late antique and Byzantine cities. Notably, there are some firmly installed counters dating to middle Byzantine times. Moreover, Ellis mentions that most of the shops/taverns in Pompeii have double door thresholds, indicating that this was one of their characteristics.[29]

Context, Object in Use. Material Spatiality in Late Antiquity, eds. Luke Lavan, Ellen Swift, and Toon Putzeys, Late Antique Archaeology 5 (Leiden, 2008), 97–100.

[20] Klaus Rheidt, *Die byzantinische Wohnstadt: Die Stadtgrabung* 2, Altertümer von Pergamon 15 (Berlin, 1991).

[21] Ellis identifies five locations with archaeologically documented *tavernae* for the Roman period: Steven J. R. Ellis, *The Roman Retail Revolution. The Socio-Economic World of Taberna* (Oxford, 2018), 18, tab. 1.1.

[22] Björn Gesemann, *Die Straßen der antiken Stadt Pompeji. Entwicklung und Gestaltung* (Bern, 1996), 246; Anna Kieburg, *Römische Gastronomiebetriebe in Pompeji, Herkulaneum und Ostia*, PhD Thesis (Hamburg, 2014), 35.

[23] Tchalenko, *Village antiques de la Syrie*, 209.

[24] For the standardization of Roman taverns, see Ellis, *Socio-Economic World of Taberna*, 212–219. For changes in stores and restaurants beginning in Late Antiquity, see Ellis, *Socio-Economic World of Taberna*, 219–226.

[25] Ellis, *Socio-Economic World of Taberna*, 18.

[26] Kieburg, *Römische Gastronomiebetriebe*, 33–189; Ellis, *Socio-Economic World of Taberna*, 29–83.

[27] For the functionality and design of taverns, which are identical over long distances, see Ellis, *Socio-Economic World of Taberna*, 29–30.

[28] Ellis, *Socio-Economic World of Taberna*, 222.

[29] Ellis, *Socio-Economic World of Taberna*, 211–219.

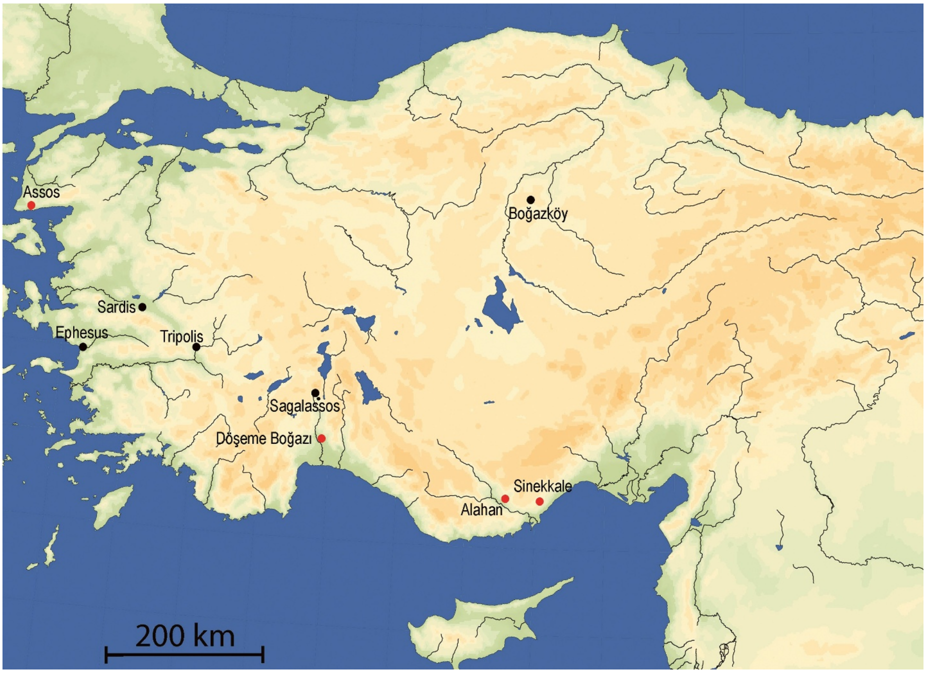

Fig. 1: Map of the archaeologically documented guesthouses (red) and taverns (black) in late Antique and Byzantine Asia Minor. © Beate Böhlendorf-Arslan.

Possibly this element was rare in Asia Minor.[30] The difference between a tavern and a bakery or butchery was that in the tavern the main function was the sale of prepared food, as opposed to the sale of raw foodstuffs in bakeries or butcheries.[31]

Inns (*pandocheia*) are buildings built or converted to provide accommodation and meals.[32] They are usually divided into a public catering area, the restaurant, and a separate or not generally accessible accommodation area. The dining area would be easily accessible from the outside and was often recognizable as such from the street. It was equipped with a counter or a larger number of tables, similar to the taverns. In addition to a dining room and a kitchen (or at least a stove), a *pandocheion* also needed a supply of water, a store for food, sleeping quarters, and possibly a stable for horses. In the case of a *xenodochion*, a hostel built for pilgrims or maintained by the church, a church or chapel was also required.[33]

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[30] Ellis also notes that the shuttered thresholds are not distributed across the entire country and points out that they are lacking in the cities he visits in Asia Minor (Ellis, *Socio-Economic World of Taberna*, 212). This can perhaps be explained by the state of research, since the tavern in Assos could be entered through a double-wing door.

[31] Ellis, *Socio-Economic World of Taberna*, 8.

[32] For the origin of *pandocheia*, see Constable, *Housing the Stranger*, 11–18.

Regarding catering establishments, the divisions can be fluid. All kinds of variations can occur: from a simple bar without seating, to a tavern with benches, an inn with a few simple rooms adjoining the dining room, or a large hospitality establishment consisting of a complex of buildings with bedrooms and lounges, a dining room, a kitchen with stoves, and workshops.

If the above-mentioned features are missing, identifying the buildings as an inn is difficult. Small rooms, so-called shops, may also have been used as bars. Multiple usage of a single establishment is also possible.[34] Even in the absence of a counter, the rest of a building's inventory may point to a bar. Among such found objects would be cups, wine amphorae, dolia for food, and/or other significant findings such as a stove, meat waste, etc.

2 Late Antique and Byzantine Taverns in Asia Minor: The Archaeological Evidence

There is a lack of comprehensive and coherent studies on hospitality in settlements in Asia Minor. Ellis visited southern Asia Minor to study the socio-economic component of Roman taverns.[35] He could only find counters as indicators of taverns in five of the twenty ancient cities he visited.[36] In contrast to Ellis, who searched for Roman inns in Asia Minor, this essay focuses on host establishments in Asia Minor from the 4th to the 11th century.[37] However, the guesthouses that have been archaeologically identified so far can only be understood as a snapshot of the current state of research; more taverns will certainly be located in the coming years (Fig. 1).

The distribution of taverns in Pompeii offers clues regarding the location of inns in late Antique and Byzantine cities. In Pompeii, they were all located on streets, piled up along the major thoroughfares, often at crossroads, and around important public buildings.[38]

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[33] For *xenodochia* see Ritter, *Glaube und Geld*, 93–103.

[34] Simon P. Ellis, "Early Byzantine Housing," in *Secular Buildings and the Archaeology of Everyday Life in the Byzantine Empire*, ed. Ken Dark (Oxford, 2004), 47; Simon P. Ellis, "The Seedier Side of Antioch," in *Culture and Society in Later Roman Antioch*, eds. Isabella Sandwell and Janet Huskinson (Oxford, 2004), 126–127; Ellis, *Socio-Economic World of Taberna*, 9–11.

[35] Ellis, *Socio-Economic World of Taberna*, 13–18, fig. 1.3, tab. 1.1.

[36] Ellis, *Socio-Economic World of Taberna*, 18 tab. 1.1.

[37] In some places, the tavern, founded in the Roman Empire, continued into the early Byzantine period. Late Byzantine taverns have not yet been archaeologically recorded.

[38] Ellis, *Socio-Economic World of Taberna*, 88, fig. 3.2.

The late antique/early Byzantine shops of Sardis (Fig. 1) are located on the north side of a portico lined street (the so-called Marble Street) along the southern wall of the Roman baths.[39] The row of shops consisted of rectangular, multi-story buildings, which had different uses.[40] In the early Byzantine period, the two building complexes flanking the side entrance to the bath functioned as dining establishments. Until the seventh century, the personnel directed the visitors to the shops and the bath.[41]

The restaurant (W1–2) to the west of the entrance to the bath consisted of two rooms forming a single unit (Fig. 2). The food could have been prepared in room W2 on two fireplaces. One of them was a hearth made of bricks. In room W1 there was a table or counter where the food was sold. There was also a latrine with a marble seat on a low platform which was connected to the canal at the back of the shop. The restaurant was probably two stories high, with the owner's living area possibly on the top. Outside, in front of the shop, an L-shaped bench invited customers to sit down. In the two rooms, animal bones were found as the remains of meals, drinking goblets and bottles made of glass, and ceramic drinking utensils.[42] The immediately adjacent room W3 was probably used as a kitchen in the last phase of the building.[43]

The opposite rooms E1 and E2 are also dining spaces (Fig. 2). The two connected rooms were equipped with a hearth and benches on the walls. In the north-eastern corners of the two rooms there are washing facilities; a basin covered with marble slabs and a basin recessed in the floor with a hole in the floor as a drain. Both basins are connected to the sewer. The large window in the southwest corner may have served as a sales counter to the outside, serving the public both in the street and in the passageway to the bath. The bench in room E1 could have been an additional sales counter. In both rooms were found storage vessels, ceramics, glass crockery, animal bones, and shells. The owner of the restaurant, according to the inscriptions carved in two vessels, was Kyriakos, who was probably a Christian, since pig bones, shells, and a pottery fragment with an incised cross were found in the room. The rooms were two-storied, and the upper floor was equipped with glass windows. It is possible that the upper floor comprised the lodgings of the owners, who may have kept their cash box here.[44]

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[39] John Stephens Crawford, *The Byzantine Shops at Sardis*, Archaeological Exploration of Sardis 9 (Cambridge, MA, 1990), 1–3.

[40] Crawford, *Byzantine Shops at Sardis*, 7–11.

[41] Crawford, *Byzantine Shops at Sardis*, 33–51; Anthea Harris, "Shops, Retailing and the local Economy in the Early Byzantine World: The Example of Sardis," in *Secular Buildings and the Archaeology of Everyday Life in the Byzantine Empire*, ed. Ken R. Dark (Oxford, 2004), 92–94.

[42] Crawford, *Byzantine Shops at Sardis*, 37–43, fig. 126–159; Harris, "The Example of Sardis" 93–94.

[43] Crawford, *Byzantine Shops at Sardis*, 34–37, fig. 111–125.

[44] Crawford, *Byzantine Shops at Sardis*, 43–49, fig. 160–185; Harris, "The Example of Sardis" 92–93. According to Crawford, *Byzantine Shops at Sardis*, 17–18, the other two neighboring *tavernae* also belonged to Christians.

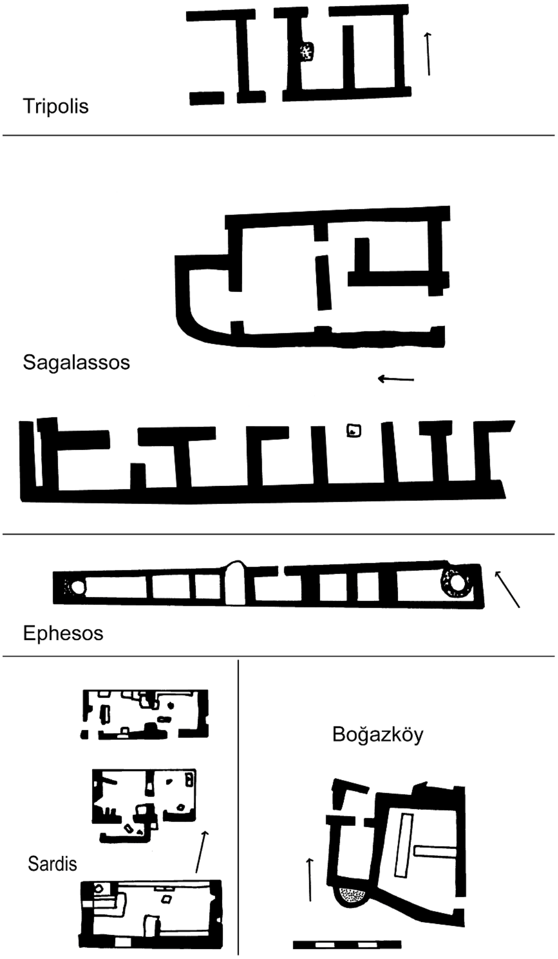

Fig. 2: Late Antique and early Byzantine taverns from Asia Minor in comparison. © Beate Böhlendorf-Arslan and Uta Jordans, after Duman, "Tabernae in Tripolis," 141, fig. 36; Putzeys, "Shops and Retail," 203, Fig. 3; Waldner, *Kuretenstrasse Ephesos*, 15, fig. 1b, Crawford, *Byzantine Shops at Sardis*, fig. 110, fig. 126, fig. 160; Böhlendorf-Arslan, *Die mittelbyzantinische Siedlung in Boğazköy*, 38, fig. 30.

In Ephesus, the late antique/early Byzantine taverns were located on the middle and upper Kuretenstraße. From the Alytarchos Stoa onwards, the ascending Kuretenstraße was lined with colonnades, behind which there were shops. These shops were used as taverns, small shops, and workshops from the first century AD onwards.[45] In Late Antiquity the shops were generally preceded by a portico, into which taverns were then built in the 6th century. These were rebuilt again and were used until the 7th century.[46] The three taverns on the upper Kuretenstraße (Fig. 2) were equipped with benches on the walls, shelves as storage space for dishes, and washing facilities. In the rooms where storage containers were found, parts of bowls and dishes were still on the tables. In two of the taverns from the middle section of the Kuretenstraße near the Alytarchos stoa, the walls were decorated with Christian motifs, a cross in the Garden of Paradise and a psalm.[47] An earthquake in the second quarter of the 7th century destroyed the taverns on Kuretenstraße.[48]

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[45] Alice Waldner, *Die Chronologie der Kuretenstrasse. Archäologische Evidenzen zur Baugeschichte des unteren Embolos in Ephesos von der lysimachischen Gründung bis in die byzantinische Zeit*, Forschungen in Ephesos XI/4 (Vienna, 2020), 31–43; Sabine Ladstätter, "Ephesos from Late Antiquity until the Middle Ages: An Archaeological Introduction," in *Ephesos from Late Antiquity until Late Middle*

In Tripolis ad Maeandrum, an ancient town about 25 km northwest of Hierapolis in Ionia (Fig. 1), several rectangular rooms were excavated in the city center. The excavators identified these rooms as a taverna based on their accessibility from the colonnaded street and their rich decoration with wall paintings.[49] It seems that these rooms had three phases. The first phase dates to the early 3rd century, the second to the late-4th century, and the third to the 5th century. The city wall, which forms the southern wall of the taverns, dates to the late-4th century. The first tavern consists of two rooms, which have walls decorated with frescoes. The floor was made of tamped lime mortar, onto which a brick floor was applied in parts during the 5th century. The rooms were supplied with water from the west wall through interlocking clay pipes. Due to the water supply, remains of a hypocaust system, and strigili between the finds, the excavator interpreted room A as a small bath for the taverns. The excavator argues that the immediately adjacent large room B, almost 32 square meters in size, which had a second floor, was used as a tavern (Fig. 2).[50] So far, no taverns have been found that had an adjoining bathroom for personal hygiene. This room therefore appears to have been an apodyterium decorated with frescoes.

Ages: Proceedings of the International Conference at the Research Center for Anatolian Civilizations, Koç University, Istanbul 30th November – 2nd December 2012, eds. Sabine Ladstätter and Paul Magdalino, Österreichisches Archäologisches Institut 58 (Vienna, 2019), 37, fig. 30–31; Jasmin Ableidinger, “Eine spätantike Tabernenflucht an der oberen Kuretenstraße in Ephesos,” in *Veränderungen von Stadtbild und urbaner Lebenswelt in spätantiker und frühbyzantinischer Zeit: Assos im Spiegel städtischer Zentren Westkleinasiens*, ed. Beate Böhlendorf-Arslan, Byzanz zwischen Orient und Okzident 23 (Mainz, 2021), 225–234.

[46] Waldner, *Kuretenstrasse Ephesos*, 183–185; Ableidinger, “Tabernenflucht Ephesos.”

[47] Andreas Pülz, “Selected Evidence of Christian Residents in Late Antique Ephesos,” in *Religion in Ephesos Reconsidered: Archaeology of Spaces, Structures, and Objects*, Supplements to Novum Testamentum 177, eds. Daniel Schowalter, Sabine Ladstätter, Steven J. Friesen, and Christine Thomas (Leiden, 2020), 84–85, fig. 4.10.

[48] Ladstätter, “Ephesos,” 37; Waldner, *Kuretenstrasse Ephesos*, 184.

[49] Bedrettin Duman, “Tabernae in Tripolis,” in *Landscape and History in the Lykos Valley: Laodikeia and Hierapolis in Phrygia*, eds. Celal Şimşek and Francesco D’Andria (Newcastle upon Tyne, 2017), 109.

[50] Duman, “Tabernae in Tripolis,” 111–116.

A second room, similarly frescoed and measuring 7 × 4.5 m, which the excavator called the second tavern, has a brick and mortar bench on three walls of the room (Fig. 2). The bench is 50 cm high and 50 cm wide, and therefore too low to be used as a counter; moreover, it is leaning against the wall. This bench was refurbished after the 4th century. Finds of a large number of ceramics and shells imply that it was used as a dining room.[51]

In the first half of the 6th century, a row of stores with seven rooms, some of which are connected to each other, was built in the western portico of the lower agora in Sagalassos (Fig. 3 right). Simple wooden walls covered with clay and straw separated the individual stores and rooms (Fig. 2). The floors consisted of compacted earth, with partially pressed limestone slabs and floor tiles. Two rooms were equipped with hearths.[52] One of the adjacent rooms was connected to the water supply of the Nymphaeum to the north.[53] In many of the rooms, narrow niches covered with arches, some with nails in their surroundings, imply that wooden shelves were once fitted here, which served as storage for dishes. In the southern part of a centrally located room, five pithoi are standing on a low, brick-clad platform. This room was probably two-storied. The basement served as a storage room, possibly for grain. The other rooms also contained storage vessels, various kitchen and tableware, kitchen utensils such as mortars, knives, etc. as well as animal bones and the remains of wheat and wild herbs.[54] The lack of benches indicates that this room was used as a kitchen and storage area to sell food and beverages to walk-in customers.[55]

To the northeast, the square of the lower agora in Sagalassos is framed by additional rooms (Fig. 3 left). The largest room, in the center, measured around 50 square meters (Fig. 2). On the northeast side of this room, from the north wall to the center, a counter was built. The two windows in the east wall, one of which is vaulted with an arch, could have served as a sales counter that could be closed with a wooden shutter.[56] A large number of storage vessels and tableware was found in the room. The handle of an authepsa indicates the consumption of spiced wine.[57] The kitchen was located in the adjacent room, which was equipped with a hearth in the east wall. In addition to kitchen ceramics and animal bones, numerous archaeobotanical remains

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[51] Duman, “Tabernae in Tripolis,” 116–117.

[52] Toon Putzeys, Marc Waelkens, Jeroen Poblome, Wim Van Neer, Bea De Cupere, Thijs Van Thuyne, Nathalie Kellens, and Philip Bes, “Shops and Retail in Late Antiquity. A Contextual Approach to the Material Evidence from Sagalassos,” in *Thinking about Space: The Potential of Surface Survey and Contextual Archaeology in the Definition of Space in Roman Times*, ed. Hannelore Vanhaverbeke, Studies in Eastern Mediterranean Archaeology 8 (Turnhout, 2008), 173.

[53] Putzeys, “Shops and Retail,” 176.

[54] Putzeys, “Shops and Retail,” 176–178. The meat for the preparation probably came from the “butcher’s store” built into the eastern portico: Putzeys, “Shops and Retail,” 191–193.

[55] Putzeys, “Shops and Retail,” 178–180.

[56] Putzeys, “Shops and Retail,” 185–186.

[57] Putzeys, “Shops and Retail,” 186.

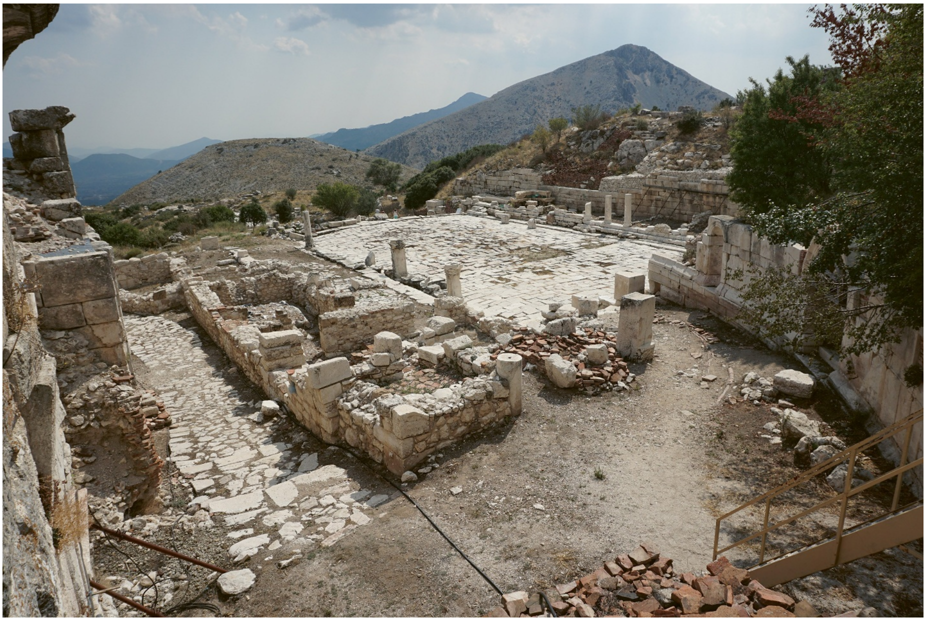

Fig. 3: Taverns in Sagalassos. © Beate Böhlendorf-Arslan.

were recovered from this room, which shows that food was prepared here. Two other rooms are considered to have been private rooms, while the passage was open to the public. This *taverna* with adjoining private rooms in the northeast of the square was built after the 5th century and was in use until the first half of the 7th century.[58]

The section of a building in the Byzantine village of Boğazköy in central Anatolia (Fig. 1) can be also addressed as a *taverna*. In the 10th century, a village was built above the temples of the former Hittite capital Boğazköy. This village consisted of a monastery, a cemetery with a burial chapel, and at least 25 buildings, including a centrally located courtyard house to which an inn was apparently attached. The inn was probably a tavern, a kind of pub, and served as a guesthouse for the villagers or individual travelers. The building consists of three units grouped around a central courtyard with a total of 16 rooms. The wing to the south consists of a corner room of over 60 square meters (Fig. 2), which only opens outwards into the village square. There is no connecting door to the interior of the building; the room is separated from the main structure. This corner room, which is about 9.2 × 6.6 m in size, is the largest room in the courtyard house complex (Fig. 4). Two benches made of quarried stone

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[58] Putzeys, "Shops and Retail," 188–189.

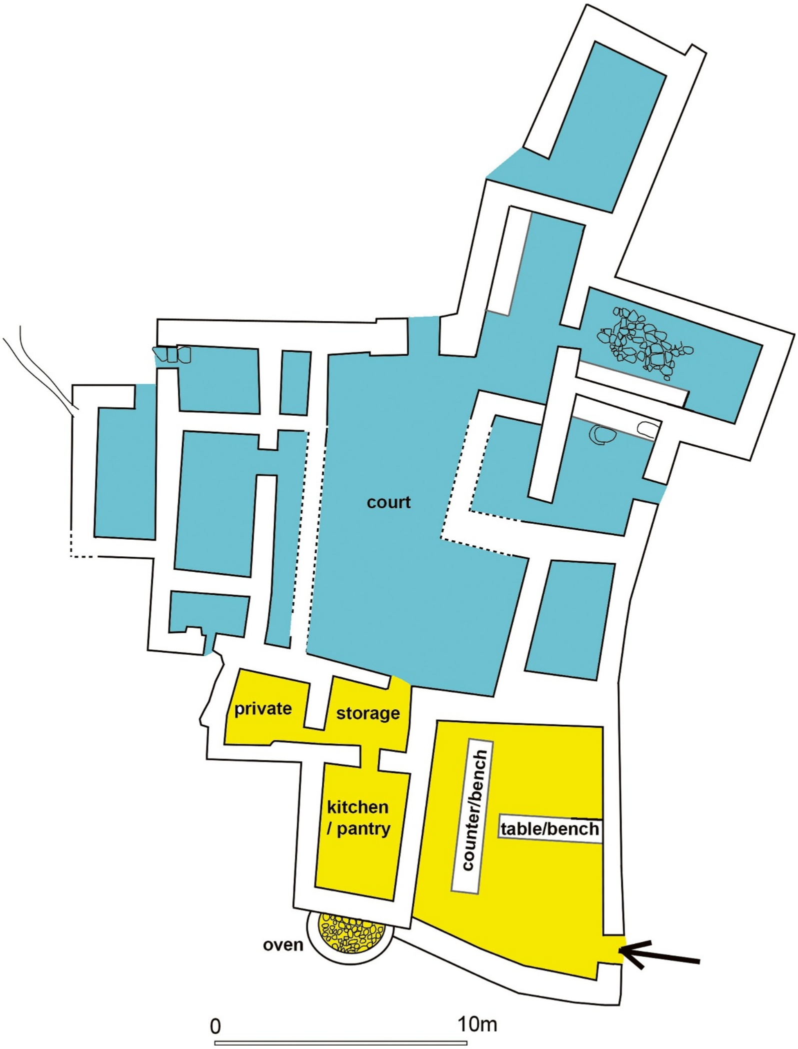

Fig. 4: Courtyard house with taberna in Boğazköy. © Beate Böhlendorf-Arslan and Uta Jordans.

were permanently installed in the room.[59] Behind the bench (counter?) in the west, a concentration of nails and staples was found that probably belonged to a wooden shelf. Behind the pedestal, near the wall, was a large artificially-smoothed stone, which probably functioned as a cutting board.[60] In this room, a large number of ce-

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[59] Beate Böhlendorf-Arslan, *Die Oberstadt von Ḫattuša: Die mittelbyzantinische Siedlung in Boğazköy: Fallstudie zum Alltagsleben in einem anatolischen Dorf zwischen dem 10. und 12. Jahrhundert. Boğazköy-Ḫattuša*, Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen 26 (Berlin, 2019), 39–40, fig. 30–31.

[60] Böhlendorf-Arslan, *Die mittelbyzantinische Siedlung in Boğazköy*, 423, Sg. 3, pl. 147.

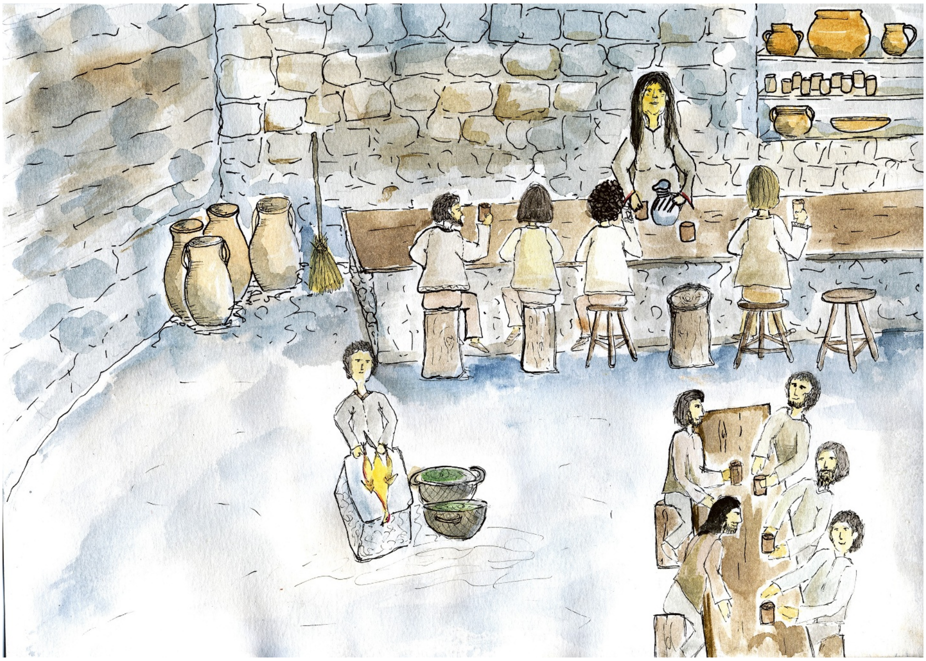

Fig. 5: Reconstruction of the taberna in Boğazköy. © Beate Böhlendorf-Arslan and Uta Jordans.

ramic vessels were found. These storage vessels may have contained wine or other beverages, which were ladled out and served with jugs from this room. Many of the jugs are typical table vessels with painted or burnished surfaces.[61]

Together with the unusually large number of high-quality drinking vessels, the size and design of the room makes one think of it as a public tavern (Fig. 5). Moreover, the room was only accessible from the outside. The two pedestals, which could have served as a counter or table, also point to usage as a tavern. A baking oven is attached to the room to the west (Fig. 4). In this room, mainly storage vessels and pots were found, so this is where cooking and baking took place. It is possible that there once was a kind of pass-through, a wall opening between this baking room and the taproom, through which one could pass food prepared in the baking room over to the inn.[62]

The taverns in Tripolis, Ephesus, and Sardis have one thing in common; they are all located in the center of early Byzantine cities. It is quite conceivable that the localities here served as dining rooms during the day but as wine taverns for a more colorful audience in the evening, especially near the bath. The central Byzantine tavern of Boğazköy was also in the center of the village. In all these small gastronomic establishments, visitors did not stay overnight; in other words, the facilities served as restaurants or drinking establishments only (Fig. 2).

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[61] Böhlendorf-Arslan, *Die mittelbyzantinische Siedlung in Boğazköy*, 86–88, ware 10–13.

[62] Böhlendorf-Arslan, *Die mittelbyzantinische Siedlung in Boğazköy*, 184–86, fig. 110, 117–119.

3 Late Antique and Byzantine *Pandocheia* in Asia Minor: The Archaeological Evidence

In addition to these smaller taverns, there were also guesthouses with overnight accommodation along major travel routes and in individual towns. The roads constructed by the Romans that comprised the so-called Cursus Publicus, which connected Rome with its provinces, were still largely intact in Late Antiquity. It was still relatively easy to travel. The paved roads were marked at intervals with sentries, horse-changing stations, and rest stops, and the distance was marked by milestones.[63] A little later, the road network deteriorated and the facilities supplying travelers fell into disrepair until Emperor Justinian stopped funding the facilities altogether in the 6th century.[64]

However, even in Byzantine times there were still way stations along the major connecting roads, but these were now in private hands. They continued the tradition of the Roman *mansiones* and were forerunners of the Seljuk *caravanserai*. At the rest stops, animals and people were provided with food, and simple sleeping places were also available.

Some of these way-stations can still be identified as such today. However, the total number of preserved *mansiones* has never been systematically recorded.[65] Moreover, no Byzantine road station has ever been excavated; hence we do not know whether they differ typologically and functionally from the Roman *mansiones* or what the characteristics of road stations in the Byzantine Middle Ages are.

On the road from Komama to Attaleia, a section of the Via Sebaste leading from Pergamon to Side (Fig. 1), there are still the remains of an early Byzantine *mansio* on the roadside at the southern exit of the gorge of Döşeme Boğazı.[66] Built of quarry stones, typical for the 5th-6th century, the complex on the northern edge of the city of Maximianopolis was quite extensive, with over ten rooms and two stories. The rooms were arranged around an inner courtyard with a fountain.[67] The building complex was accessible from the road with three entrances, and the largest middle one leads into the courtyard through a two-meter wide gate. The individual rectangular rooms are equipped with windows on the courtyard side, while on the outside they have only slit windows.

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[63] David H. French, Roman Roads and Milestones of Asia Minor 1: *The Pilgrim's Road*, British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara, Monograph 3; BAR International Series 105 (Oxford, 1981); David H. French, *Roman Roads and Milestones of Asia Minor*, vols. 3–4 (Ankara, 2012, 2014, 2016); Klaus Belke, "Von der Pflasterstraße zum Maultierpfad? Zum kleinasiatischen Wegenetz in mittelbyzantinischer Zeit," in *H Βυζαντινή Μικρά Ασία (6ος–12ος αι.)*, ed. Stylianos Lampakes (Athens, 1998), 267–271; Belke, "Verkehrsmittel"; Stephen Mitchell, Robert Wagner, and Brian Williams, *Roman Archaeology in a South Anatolian Landscape: The Via Sebaste, the Mansio in the Döşeme Boğazı, and Regional Transhumance in Pamphylia and Pisidia*, Akmed Series Mediterranean Studies 4 (Istanbul, 2021).

[64] *Prokop, Anekdota, Geheimgeschichte des Kaiserhofs von Byzanz*, ed. Otto Veh (Düsseldorf, 2005), 30, 1–11.

[65] See the brief description of the late antique/early Byzantine horse-changing stations and rest stops on the so-called pilgrim trail: French, *The Pilgrim's Road*, 29–32.

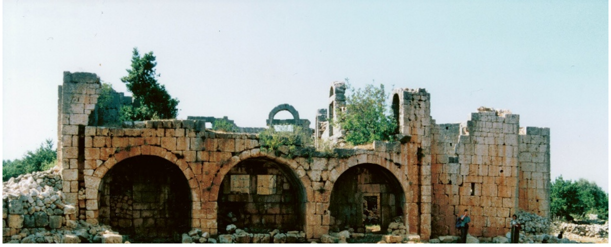

Fig. 6: Guesthouse (?) in Sinekkale. © Ina Eichner.

On the road from Diokaisareia (Olba) to Korasion, near the town of Seleukeia (Silifke) (Fig. 1), was a large complex of buildings that has been interpreted as a hostel.[68] Ina Eichner concludes that the building was more like a manor house, which offered limited accommodation for travelers (Fig. 6).[69] The building is two-storied with five rooms in the basement and six rooms on the upper floor. On the upper floor were three latrines with sewers. One latrine belonged to a separate room and was again separated by a door in a small chamber. The location of the building on a main overland road and the high number of latrines on the upper floor leads to the assumption that in the 5th and 6th century a hostel was being run here on a modest scale. In the basement, animals were cared for, and three of the rooms on the upper floor could have been used for overnight stays. It is likely that the chamber with the private latrine was rented to wealthier guests.[70]

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[66] Mitchell, Wagner, and Williams, *Ronan Archaeology*, 32–37, fig. 53–64; David H. French, "1993 Yılı Küçük Asya Roma Yolları ve Miltaşları," in *12. Araştırma Sonuçları Toplantısı*, eds. İsmail Eroğlu, Fahriye Bayram, Handan Eren, Nurhan Ülgen, Filiz Kaymaz, and Ahmet Hamdi Ergürer (Ankara, 1995) 34, fig. 1, 35, fig. 3–4, 36, fig. 5; Hansgerd Hellenkemper and Friedrich Hild, *Lykien und Pamphylien*, Tabula Imperii Byzantini 8 (Vienna, 2004), 274, fig. 240; Friedrich Hild, "Verkehrswege zu Lande: Die Wege der Kreuzfahrer des Ersten und Zweiten Kreuzzuges in Kleinasien," in *Handelsgüter und Verkehrswege: Aspekte der Warenversorgung im östlichen Mittelmeerraum (4. bis 15. Jahrhundert)*, eds. Ewald Kislinger, Johannes Koder, and Andreas Külzer (Vienna, 2010), 112, fig. 16.

[67] Mitchell, Wagner, and Williams, *Ronan Archaeology*, 32–35; Hellenkemper and Hild, *Lykien und Pamphylien*, 274, fig. 240; Mustafa Adak and Marc Wilson, "Das Vespasiansmonument von Döşeme und die Gründung der Doppelprovinz *Lycia et Pamphilia*," *Gephyra* 9 (2012): 1–40, here 5. They compare the layout of the *mansio* with Seljuk *caravanserais*.

[68] Gilbert Dragon and Olivier Callot, "Les bâtisseurs Isauriens chez eux: Notes sur trois sites de environs de Silifke," in *ΑΕΤΟΣ: Studies in Honour of Cyril Mango*, eds. Ihor Ševčenko and Irmgard Hutter (Stuttgart, 1998), 58–61.

[69] Ina Eichner, *Frühbyzantinische Wohnhäuser in Kilikien. Baugeschichtliche Untersuchung zu den Wohnformen in der Region um Seleukia am Kalykadnos* (Tübingen, 2011), 309–13; Ina Eichner, "Sinekkale – Herberge, Kloster oder Gutshof?," *Olba* 16 (2008): 338–360.

At Alahan Monastery near Seleukia (Fig. 1) in Cilicia, the inscription on a sarcophagus mentions a *taverna*.[71] The proposed location is a two-story building in the center of the monastery.[72] Given its location on a colonnaded street between two churches, the ground plan, and the description of the rooms, the complex could have been a place of accommodation for pilgrims and travelers. However, this can only be narrowed down conclusively by precise analysis of the architecture, find context, and salient archaeological finds.

A large building complex at the western gate of the city of Assos on the west coast of Asia Minor (Fig. 1) is also considered to be a *pandocheion/xenodocheion*.[73] Assos was a trading city in Late Antiquity and Byzantine times with a supra-regional harbor.[74] In the 6th and 7th centuries, pilgrims travelled to Assos, making it necessary to supply essentials and accommodate foreign guests. The pilgrims' destination in Assos was the grave of a venerated person, a saint not known by name, over which a church was built in the late-5th or early-6th century. The church was located outside the city in the middle of the ancient necropolis (Fig. 7). Inside the tomb, votive offerings were made by pouring liquids into the grave of the deceased, demonstrating the importance of the site for the cult of veneration.[75]

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[70] Eichner, *Frühbyzantinische Wohnhäuser in Kilikien*, 309–310; Eichner, "Sinekkale," 347.

[71] Martin Harrison, "The Inscription and Chronology of Alahan," in *Alahan: An Early Christian Monastery in Southern Turkey. Based on the Work of Michael Gough,* ed. Mary Gough (Toronto, 1985), 22–23. See for Cilicia Friedrich Hild and Hansgerd Hellenkemper, *Kilikien und Isaurien*, Tabula Imperii Byzantini 5 (Vienna, 1990).

[72] Harrison, "Inscription Alahan"; Gerard Bakker, "The Buildings at Alahan," in *Alahan: An Early Christian Monastery in Southern Turkey, Based on the Work of Michael Gough*, ed. Mary Gough (Toronto, 1985), 138–139.

[73] Nurettin Arslan, Beate Arslan, Caner Bakan, Klaus Rheidt, and Julia Engel, "Assos Kazısı 2015 Yılı Sonuçları Raporu," *38. Kazı Sonuçları Toplantısı 3* (2017): 55–56, fig. 4–5; Nurettin Arslan, Beate Arslan and Caner Bakan, "Assos Kazı 2016 Yılı Çalışmaları," *39. Kazı Sonuçları Toplantısı 3* (2018): 393–394, fig. 7–9; Nurettin Arslan, Caner Bakan, Beate Böhlendorf-Arslan, Eva-Maria Mohr, and Klaus Rheidt, "2017 Yılı Assos Kazı Çalışmaları," *40. Kazı Sonuçları Toplantısı 3* (2018): 157–158, fig. 3–5; Nurettin Arslan, Caner Bakan, and Beate Böhlendorf-Arslan, "2018 Yılı Assos Kazı Çalışmaları," *41. Kazı Sonuçları Toplantısı 3* (2019): 529–531, fig. 7; Beate Böhlendorf-Arslan, "The Glorious Sixth Century in Assos: The Unknown Prosperity of a Provincial City in Western Asia Minor," in *Asia Minor in the Long Sixth Century: Current Research and Future Directions*, eds. Ine Jacobs and Hugh Elton (Oxford, 2019), 238–249, fig. 13.12; Beate Böhlendorf-Arslan, "Transformation von Stadtbild und urbaner Lebenswelt: Assos in der Spätantike und in frühbyzantinischer Zeit," in *Veränderungen von Stadtbild und urbaner Lebenswelt in spätantiker und frühbyzantinischer Zeit: Assos im Spiegel städtischer Zentren Westkleinasiens*, ed. Beate Böhlendorf-Arslan, Byzanz zwischen Orient und Okzident 23 (Mainz, 2021), 63–73.

[74] Nurettin Arslan, Beate Böhlendorf-Arslan, Eva-Maria Mohr, and Klaus Rheidt, "Der Hafen von Assos," in *Hamburger Beiträge zur Archäologie und Kulturgeschichte des antiken Mittelmeerraumes*, eds. Martina Seifert and Leon Zimmer, Gateways 3 (Hamburg, 2018), 52.

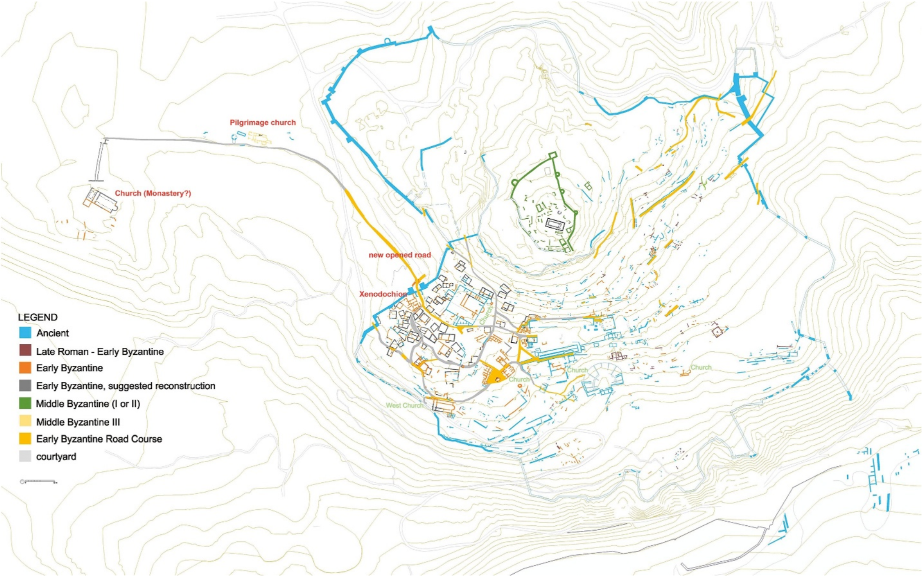

Fig. 7: Detail of the city map of Assos with the pilgrim church, the large extra-urban complex (monastery?) and the connecting road to the west gate with the xenodochion. © Assos excavation archive.

A street with a representative gate connected the sanctuary with a large complex on a hill to the west of the church. A wall surrounds the complex. In the center a three-nave basilica is situated, about 56 m in length with annexes in the west and south (Fig. 7).[76] To the south of the area, several large buildings are located. This complex may have been a monastery that was responsible for the operation of the pilgrimage church and which may also have been able to accommodate guests.

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[75] Beate Böhlendorf-Arslan, “Die Ayazmakirche in Assos: Lokales Pilgerheiligtum und Grabkirche,” in *Assos: Neue Forschungsergebnisse zur Baugeschichte und Archäologie der südlichen Troas*, eds. Nurettin Arslan, Eva-Maria Mohr, and Klaus Rheidt, Asia Minor Studien 78 (Bonn, 2016), 205–220; Beate Böhlendorf-Arslan, “Pilgerdevotionalien aus Assos?,” in *Contextus: Festschrift für Sabine Schrenk*, eds. Sible De Blaauw, Elisabeth Enß, and Petra Linscheid, Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum 41 (Bonn, 2020): 446–451, pl. 67.

[76] Böhlendorf-Arslan, “Pilgerdevotionalien,” 447; Martin Dennert, “Außerstädtische Kirchen in Assos in frühbyzantinischer Zeit,” in *Veränderungen von Stadtbild und urbaner Lebenswelt in spätantiker und frühbyzantinischer Zeit: Assos im Spiegel städtischer Zentren Westkleinasiens*, ed. Beate Böhlendorf-Arslan, Byzanz zwischen Orient und Okzident 23 (Mainz, 2021), 158–163.

Inside the city was another accommodation option. The complex was located precisely at the western gate within the ancient city walls and was connected to the pilgrims' church at that time by a specially restored direct road connection. For this purpose, the late-4th or early-5th century gate was relocated. The Archaic burial street, no longer used in use in Late Antiquity, was restored at that time (Fig. 7). This enabled visitors to reach the pilgrims' church directly from the *pandocheion/xenodocheion*.[77] The late-5th or early-6th century building apparently served to supply pilgrims and other guests. It was in use until the late 7th century.

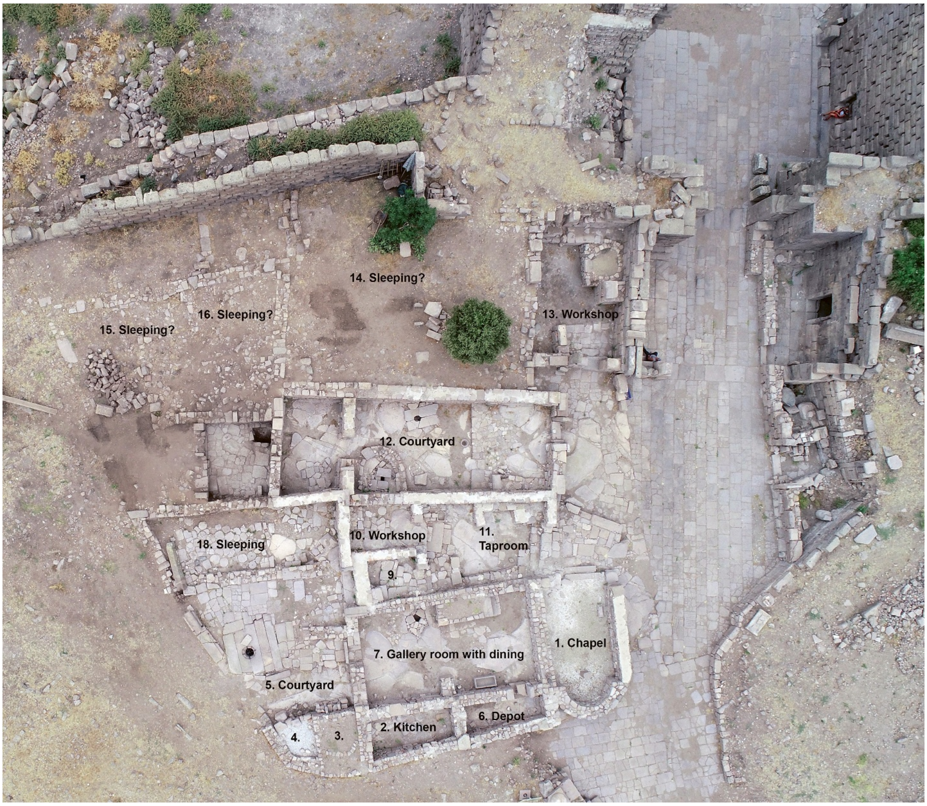
14. Sleeping?
16. Sleeping?
15. Sleeping?
13. Workshop
12. Courtyard
10. Workshop
11. Taproom
18. Sleeping
9.
1. Chapel
7. Gallery room with dining
5. Courtyard
6. Depot
2. Kitchen
4.
3.

Fig. 8: Pandocheion/Xenodochion of Assos, photo taken 2021. © Assos excavation archive.

The building complex is equipped with a chapel (1) and various rooms, not all of which have been uncovered (Fig. 8).[78] The access and inventory of the rooms show that the complex was well adapted to guests' needs. The entrance for overnight guests was via the courtyard (5) on the south side. The stable for animals was most likely the annex directly on the western wall, which could be entered from outside. The kitchen (2), depots (4, 6), sleeping quarters (18, possibly also 14–16), and upper floor could all be reached via the courtyard. The entrance to the chapel (1) and a taproom (11) directly next to it could be accessed from the street by the west gate (Fig. 8–9). Both rooms were entered through double doors about 2 m wide, as their large thresholds are exposed.

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[77] Böhlendorf-Arslan, “Pilgerdevotionalien,” 447–448, fig. 2; Böhlendorf-Arslan, “The Glorious Sixth Century in Assos,” 230–234, fig. 13.4–6.

[78] Arslan, Arslan, Bakan, Rheidt, and Engel, “Assos Kazısı 2015 Yılı,” 54–55, fig. 4–5; Arslan, Arslan, and Bakan, “Assos Kazı 2016 Yılı,” 393–394, fig. 7–9; Arslan, Bakan, and Böhlendorf-Arslan, “2018 Yılı

In the entrance to the chapel a guard may have once stood, as a lost dagger has suggested. The chapel was used for prayer and devotion, but liturgical celebrations were also held in it. It was equipped with an altar, behind which once hung a small cross in the apse. Guests were served refreshments in the guest room or tavern (11). This room was furnished with benches on the walls and a table in the center (Fig. 10). A counter or another bench protruded into the middle of the room. Room 10 is located at the back and close to the guest room and was connected to a cistern in courtyard 12 by a balustrade. In this room some tools were found, suggesting the existence of a workshop, possibly for repairing items used for travel, such as saddles.

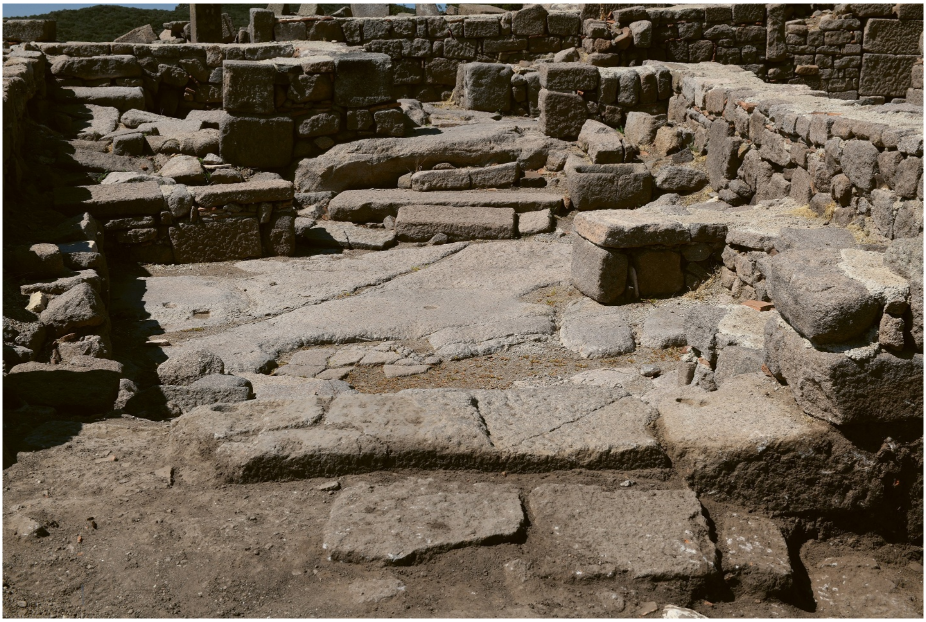

Fig. 9: Entrance to the taproom of the Pandocheion/Xenodochion. © Assos excavation archive.

Assos," 529–530, fig. 7; Böhlendorf-Arslan, "The Glorious Sixth Century in Assos," 238–249, fig. 13.12; Böhlendorf-Arslan, "Transformation," 63–73, fig. 54–64.

Directly next to the workshop, a staircase (9) led to the upper floor. A second staircase was located in the large room (7) (Fig. 9). This room served as a storage and utility room on the first floor. Here was a grain silo and several troughs for washing. The floor above the utility room was a gallery, which allowed a view down into the room. The gallery floor was used as a dining room. At least four large marble tables stand here, signifying that guests gathered here for dinner. The food itself was cooked in the kitchen (2) or baked in the adjacent oven (3). The finds (personal items like belt buckles or jewelry, pottery and glass) from this building indicate an international clientele. Even if the objects only reflect a snapshot of the time when the building was derelict or no longer in use, they provide insights into the activities of the complex and the origin and social status of the guests. The *xenodochion/pandocheion* was apparently destroyed in a devastating earthquake in the late-7th century. This earthquake was so violent that cracks formed in the smoothed rock floor. The building collapsed and buried the inventory. After that event the inn was never rebuilt after, although at least the well in the courtyard was visited and used at least until the 11th century.[79]

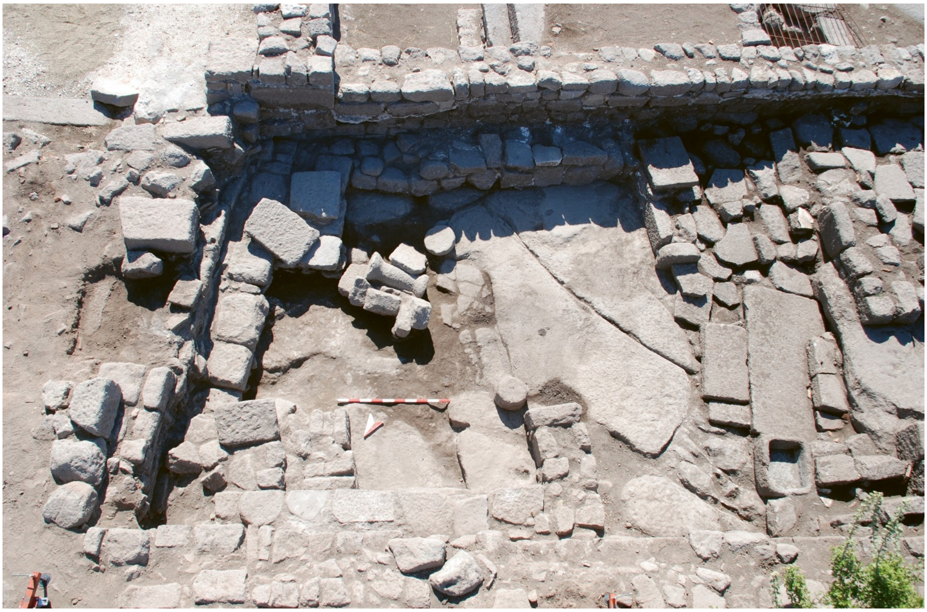

Fig. 10: Taproom with benches and table. © Assos excavation archive.

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[79] Arslan, Bakan, and Böhlendorf-Arslan, “2018 Yılı Assos,” 529–530.

As it currently appears, after this catastrophe the city shifted places to the northwest outside the city walls or to the northern slope of the hill.[80] Archaeological remains and written sources show that Assos continued to exist into the middle and late Byzantine period. The pilgrimage church had a middle Byzantine reconstruction phase, and the city of Assos is also documented in several middle Byzantine sources.[81] One of them also mentions an inn; the vita of the Symeon Metaphrastes from the 10th century describes the fate of Mary, the niece of St. Abraham.[82] The latter settled in Assos after fleeing from a village near Lampsakos. In Assos she worked as a prostitute in a hostel. Where the hostels were located in the 8th to 12th centuries is not known. Also, we do not yet know for sure where the city of Assos was located in the 10th and 11th century. The kastron on the acropolis was probably built in the 12th or 13th century.[83]

4 Conclusion

The use and function of large building complexes in late antique and Byzantine cities are often discussed, but disagreements remain as to their identities and functions. Many of these large buildings were excavated decades ago, so the finds and contexts are no longer comprehensible, making it difficult, and in some cases impossible, to reconstruct the exact function of a particular domestic complex and the use of each room. According to Andreas Pülz, the so-called bishop's palace near St. Mary's Church in Ephesus could well have been a *xenodocheion* or deacon's residence.[84] During major events such as the Third Ecumenical Council in Ephesus in 431 AD, not only the bishops but also the accompanying monks and servants had to be accommodated. In addition, such an event attracted peddlers and spectators who also needed a place to sleep. This is probably why many of the large buildings were multi-functional in Late Antiquity and the Byzantine period. Monasteries and city palaces also welcomed travelers. Private individuals probably rented out rooms to merchants and pilgrims. And there were certainly also canteens, which offered food and drink from a mobile counter.

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[80] Beate Böhlendorf-Arslan, "Assos," in *The Archaeology of Byzantine Anatolia. From the End of Late Antiquity until the Coming of the Turks*, ed. Philipp Niewöhner (Oxford, 2017), 224–225; Böhlendorf-Arslan, "The Glorious Sixth Century in Assos," 243.

[81] Beate Böhlendorf-Arslan, "Die Ayazmakirche," 207–216; Beate Böhlendorf-Arslan, "Nothing to Remember? Redesigning the Ancient City of Assos in the Byzantine Era," in *Cityscape and Monuments of remembrance in western Asia Minor*, eds. Eva Mortensen and Birte Poulsen (Oxford, 2017), 26; Nurettin Arslan and Klaus Rheidt, "Assos. Bericht über die Ausgrabungen und Forschungen zur Stadtentwicklungsgeschichte 2006 bis 2011," *Archäologischer Anzeiger* 1 (2013): 234–238.

[82] Symeon Metaphrastes, *Vita et conversatio Abramii confessoris et Mariae*, in *PG* 115, 44–77, at 68. I owe this reference to Despoina Ariantzi.

[83] Beate Böhlendorf-Arslan, "Assos in byzantinischer Zeit," in *Vom Euphrat bis zum Bosporus. Kleinasien in der Antike: Festschrift für Elmar Schwertheim zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. Engelbert Winter, Asia Minor Studien 65 (Bonn, 2008), 121–122; Nurettin Arslan and Beate Böhlendorf-Arslan, *Assos. Living in the Rocks* (Istanbul, 2010), 141; Arslan and Rheidt, "Assos," 238; Böhlendorf-Arslan, "Assos," 224.

[84] Pülz, "Christian Residents in Late Antique Ephesos," 79–80; Andreas Pülz, "Some Remarks on Late Antique and Early Christian Ephesos," in *Geç Antik Çağ'da Lykos Vadisi ve Çevresi/The Lykos Valley and Neighbourhood in Late Antiquity*, eds. Celal Şimşek and Turhan Kaçar, Laodikeia Çalışmaları 1 (Istanbul, 2018), 392–393.

Starting in Late Antiquity, colonnade streets and porticoes were converted to stores.[85] Back walls, columns, and paved surfaces were used as a practical guideline for the arrangement of rooms. In places where there existed stands for selling in public spaces, provisions for physical needs also had to be ensured. Therefore, stores are often located in the immediate vicinity of taverns and taprooms. Early Byzantine pubs are similar in their functionality across long geographical distances; the bars in Scythopolis and Corinth are comparable to the taprooms in Sardis, Sagalassos, and Ephesus.[86] In contrast, the middle Byzantine *taverna* in the village of Boğazköy shows a different structure, even though functional elements such as benches and shelves are still present. *Pandocheia* and *xenodocheia* have been found in great numbers not only in Syria (Qal'at Sim'an), but also in other areas such as Egypt (Abu Mena) and Israel (Jerusalem).[87] Almost all of them date back to the 5th or 6th century.

In Asia Minor, Greece, and the rest of southern Mediterranean, far too few structures that provided food, drink, and accommodation have been excavated up to the present, and even fewer buildings that allow for the determination of their rooms' various functions through their in situ finds. In 2004, Anthea Harris wrote: "..Sardis is almost the only site from which both the finds and the architecture of (what the excavators labeled) "Byzantine stores" have been recorded stratigraphically and published in detail."[88] In the last 15 years, some cities that have produced a wide range of data, such as Sagalassos, Ephesus and Assos, were added, but in general nothing has changed re-

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85 Helen G. Saradi, *The Byzantine City in the Sixth Century: Literary Images and Historical Reality* (Athens, 2006), 272. For a selection of late antique and early Byzantine stores, see Luke Lavan, "From Polis to Emporion? Retail and Regulation in the Late Antique City," in *Trade and Markets in Byzantium*, ed. Cécile Morrisson (Washington, D.C., 2012), 366–377.

86 S. Agady, M. Arazi, Benny Arubas, Shulamit Hadad, Elias Khamis, and Yoram Tsafrir, "Byzantine Shops in the Street of Monuments at Bet Shean (Scythopolis)," in *What Athens has to do with Jerusalem: Essays on Classical, Jewish, and Early Christian Art and Archaeology in Honour of Gideon Foerster*, ed. Leonard V. Rutgers (Leuven, 2002), 423–506; Elias Khamis, "The Shops of Scythopolis in Context," in *Objects in Context, Objects in Use. Material Spatiality in Late Antiquity*, eds. Luke Lavan, Ellen Swift, and Toon Putzeys, Late Antique Archaeology 5 (Leiden, 2007), 439–472; Charles K. Williams and Orestes H. Zervos, "Corinth 1985: East of the theatre," *Hesperia* 55 (1986): 129–175; Charles K. Williams and Orestes H. Zervos, "Corinth 1986: Temple E and east of the theatre," *Hesperia* 56 (1987): 1–46.

87 Tchalenko, *Village antiques de la Syrie*, 205–222; Grossmann, "Pilgerunterkünfte in Abū Mīnā," 201–210; Yitzhak Magen and Rina Talgam, "The Monastery of Martyrius at Ma'ale Adummim (Khirbet el-Muraşşaş) and its Mosaics," in *Christian Archaeology in the Holy Land: New Discoveries, Essays in Honour of Virgilio C. Corbo*, eds. Giovanni Claudio Bottini, Leah Di Segni, and Eugenio Alliata, Studium Biblicum Franciscanum 36 (Jerusalem, 1990), 333–342.

88 Harris, "Shops Sardis," 84.

garding the limited archaeological data. Further detailed research is needed to reevaluate the archaeological literature of the last few years—the preliminary excavation reports and the summaries of rescue excavations—in order to arrive at a more exact functional analysis of building complexes and thus to determine the location of *tavernae* and *pandocheia* in Byzantium.

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Part 5: Discourse-Analytical Approaches to Marginals in Hagiographic Literature

Julie Van Pelt

On the Margins of Sanctity: Prostitutes, Actors, and Tavernkeepers in Greek Hagiography

In recent decades, scholars have shown that hagiography often reflects Byzantine society.[1] It should not surprise us, then, that the professional groups that are scrutinized in this book are well represented in the genre.[2] In the short hagiographical vignettes from the *Sayings of the Desert Fathers*,[3] for instance, we encounter several prostitutes. In one story, a prostitute is denied entrance into a church by both the local subdeacon

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[1] E.g. Julia Seiber, *The Urban Saint in Early Byzantine Social History* (Oxford, 1977); Derek Krueger, *Symeon the Holy Fool: Leontius' Life and the Late Antique City* (Berkeley, 1996); Michael Kaplan and Eleonora Kountoura-Galaki, "Economy and Society in Byzantine Hagiography," in *Ashgate Research Companion to Byzantine Hagiography, vol. II: Genres & Contexts*, ed. Stephanos Efthymiadis (Burlington, VT, 2014), 389–418; and Helen G. Saradi, "The City in Byzantine Hagiography," in *Ashgate Research Companion to Byzantine Hagiography, vol. II: Genres & Contexts*, ed. Stephanos Efthymiadis (Burlington, VT, 2014), 419–453.

[2] Hagiography is the common umbrella term used for a variety of religious narrative texts that focus on Christian holy men and women. Its conceptualization as a genre has reasonably been problematized (e.g. Marc Van Uytfanghe, "L'hagiographie: un 'genre' chrétien ou antique tardif?," *AB* 11 (1993): 135–188 and Martin Hinterberger, "Byzantine Hagiography and its Literary Genres: Some Critical Observations," in *Ashgate Research Companion to Byzantine Hagiography, vol. II: Genres & Contexts*, ed. Stephanos Efthymiadis [Burlington, VT, 2014], 25–60). A useful terminological overview is found in Danny Praet, "*Legenda aut non legenda*? The Quest for the Literary Genre of the Acts of the Martyrs," in *Wiley Blackwell Companion to Christian Martyrdom*, ed. Paul Middleton (Hoboken, NJ, 2020), 151–183, at 152–153. In this chapter, I deal with martyr accounts, *Lives* of saints, miracle stories, and so-called *récits édifiants* or edifying stories (λόγοι ψυχωφελεῖς). Despoina Ariantzi, "Byzantinische Prostituierte: Zwischen Marginalisierung und Reintegration in die Gesellschaft," *Byz* 91 (2021): 1–45 demonstrates the value of hagiography as a socio-historical source for our knowledge of Byzantine prostitutes. In this chapter, I analyse the position of prostitutes, as well as tavernkeepers and actors, in hagiography primarily from a narrative point of view.

[3] The *Sayings of the Desert Fathers* (or *Apophthegmata Patrum*, hereafter *Sayings*) refers to early monastic literature in the form of short edifying stories that first developed in oral form in the monastic settlements in the Egyptian desert from the 4thcentury onwards and were later recorded in writing (probably in 5th-century Palestine): see Jean-Claude Guy, *Recherches sur la tradition grecque des* Apophthegmata Patrum, Subsidia Hagiographica 36, 2nd ed. (Brussels, 1984) and William Harmless, *Desert Christians: An Introduction to the Literature of Early Monasticism* (Oxford, 2004), 165–273.

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https://doi.org/10.1515/9783112213155-012

and bishop.[4] The discrimination she experiences from these religious officials makes her abandon her way of life and repent for her sins. The *Sayings* also feature actors. A story about a mime called Gaianus depicts the actor mocking the Theotokos in the theater. When he continues to perform his satirical play even after having been warned by the Theotokos multiple times in a nightly vision, he is punished: the Theotokos appears again, but this time she does not speak and cuts off his hands and feet.[5] Tavernkeepers are mentioned as well in Greek early monastic literature. In the *Life of Marcianus* from Theodoret's *Historia Religiosa* (BHG 1031), the great monk compares himself to a tavernkeeper in an ironic utterance that is clearly meant to stress the *difference* between a man of his own position and someone of that profession, calling such a man, moreover, "profligate."[6] These three hagiographical anecdotes illustrate that the professional groups under scrutiny do not just belong on the margins of Byzantine society but are also typically considered marginal in a religious and spiritual sense.

These two angles—being social as well as religious outcasts—represent two sides of the same coin. The professions of such figures made them sinners[7] and, being sinners, they were excluded from both social and religious communities. At the same time, Christianity has always entertained a special relationship with social outcasts and sinners. In the Gospels, Jesus shares his table with prostitutes and tax collectors, often to the consternation of members of mainstream society.[8] His example propagates the Christian message of equality, inclusion, and forbearance, according to which all are welcome in God's kingdom, social status is irrelevant to an individual's moral integrity, and sin is secondary to the soul's spiritual disposition. In the context of a Christian genre such as hagiography, then, we might somehow expect that prostitutes, actors, and tavernkeepers would not (or not only) suffer from marginalization, as in the three examples above, but would be eligible for inclusion—namely, into the Christian spiritual community. Consequently, from a spiritual point of view, these professional groups find themselves in a paradoxical position between exclusion and inclusion, being both straying sinners and potential penitents.[9]

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[4] *Sayings*, ed. Jacques P. Migne, *Patrologiae cursus completus (series Graeca)* 65 (Paris, 1857–1866), col. 233, lines 25–43 ("Περὶ τοῦ ἀββᾶ Ἰωάννου τῶν Κελλίων α'"). Cf. *Sayings*, ed. Migne, *PG* 65, col. 413, line 50–col. 416, line 35 ("Περὶ τοῦ ἀββᾶ Σεραπίωνος α'"); *Sayings*, ed. François Nau, "Histoires des solitaires égyptiens," *Revue de l'Orient Chrétien* 12 (1907): 171–181, ch. 43 (about an anonymous monk); and *Sayings*, ed. Migne, *PG* 65, col. 217, line 15–col. 220, line 16 ("Περὶ τοῦ ἀββᾶ Ἰωάννου τοῦ Κολοβοῦ μ'"). The latter three stories are discussed by Benedicta Ward, *Harlots of the Desert: A Study of Repentance in Early Monastic Sources* (London, 1987), ch. 5. They tell of monks who visit prostitutes and convert them. They present a similar vein to the *Lives* of holy harlots such as Thaïs, Pansemne, and Mary the niece of Abraham, which are discussed later in this chapter.

[5] *Sayings*, ed. Panteles B. Paschos, *Νέον Μητερικόν. Ἄγνωστα καὶ ἀνέκδοτα πατερικὰ καὶ ἀσκητικὰ κείμενα περὶ τιμίων καὶ ἁγίων Γυναικῶν* (Athens, 1990), ch. 77 ("Περὶ μίμου, τοῦ ὀνομαζομένου Γαϊανοῦ").

[6] *Hist. Rel.* III, ch. 12, line 30: ἄσωτον, eds. Pierre Canivet and Alice Leroy-Molinghen, *Théodoret de Cyr. L'histoire des moines de Syrie,* 2 vols., SC 234, 257 (Paris, 1977–1979).

[7] This is rather straightforward in the case of prostitutes and tavernkeepers, since their activities violate the Christian ideals of chastity and temperance. In Byzantine society, actors were also considered sinners and they were even excluded from participation in the liturgy and from entering churches (see Ruth Webb, *Demons and Dancers: Performance in Late Antiquity* [Cambridge, MA, 2008], 53). This is related to the fact that Christian leaders denounced the late antique theater as the special province of the Devil, a place of delusion and sin. For more discussion, see Christine C. Schnusenberg, *Das Verhältnis von Kirche und Theater: Dargestellt an ausgewählten Schriften der Kirchenväter und liturgischen Texten bis auf Amalarius von Metz (a.d. 775–852)* (Frankfurt am Main, 1981); Timothy D. Barnes, "Christians and the Theater," in *Roman Theater and Society*, ed. William J. Slater (Ann Arbor, 1996), 174–180; Costas Panayotakis, "Baptism and Crucifixion on the Mimic Stage," *Mnemosyne* 50/3 (1997): 302–319; Leonardo Lugaresi, "Ambivalenze della rappresentazione: Riflessioni patristiche su riti e spettacoli," *Zeitschrift für Antikes Christentum* 7 (2003): 281–309; and Webb, *Demons and Dancers*.

In this chapter I discuss the complex and often contradictory ways in which such figures are depicted in Greek hagiography. Specifically, I focus on the complex relation between social and spiritual status and between these characters' outsider positions and their potential as religious in-crowd. The chapter addresses the narrative mechanisms by which these figures are sometimes placed on the margins, while in other ways they become central. By 'spiritual status' I mean the rank an individual has acquired in the eyes of God. In other words, it is the level of piety one has attained. Unlike social status (or ecclesiastical rank, which is also a form of social status), spiritual status does not depend on social interaction or inter-human acknowledgement (at least ostensibly). As the monk Zosimas in the *Life of Mary of Egypt* remarks, "grace is not manifested by official rank" but "is usually indicated by spiritual attitudes."[10] It is ultimately known only to God, and it was even experienced as problematic when one's spiritual status became known to and recognized by others. The fundamental problem of virtue was that it could lead to praise, fame, and, consequently, pride, by which virtue is undone again.[11] Symeon Salos, discussed below, is an illustration of this paradox, since he avoids social recognition for his virtuous deeds by acting like a madman, thus circumventing the problem of praise and pride.[12] Nonetheless, it was far less problematic to depict spiritual status in stories about characters who had already secured their exceptional position and had passed on. Hagiography was about revivifying the memory of their spiritual journeys as examples to others. As we will see, these narratives could sing a character's praise while (and often through) underlining his/her humility.[13]

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[8] E.g. Luke 7:36–50 (about a sinful woman), John 4:7–39 (about a Samaritan woman), or Luke 19:1–9 (about Zacchaeus the tax collector). For further discussion I refer to Otfried Hofius, *Jesu Tischgemeinschaft mit den Sündern* (Stuttgart, 1967).

[9] This tension is illustrated by a story from John Moschus' *Leimon*, discussed by Ariantzi, "Byzantinische Prostituierte," 14, where a monk, who scolds at a prostitute for approaching him, is reminded by the woman of his duty to give her a chance, after Jesus' example.

[10] *Life of Mary of Egypt*, ch. 13; trans. Maria Kouli, "Life of St. Mary of Egypt," in *Holy Women of Byzantium: Ten Saints' Lives in English Translation*, ed. Alice-Mary Talbot (Washington D.C., 1996), 65–93.

[11] On this problem, see Peter Turner, *Truthfulness, Realism, Historicity: A Study of Late Antique Spiritual Literature* (Burlington, VT, 2012), 104–108; Andrew Thomas, "The City Became a Desert: Forcing the First Holy Fools into a Context," in *Holy Fools and Divine Madmen: Sacred Insanity Through Ages and Cultures*, eds. Albrecht Berger and Sergey A. Ivanov (Neuried, 2018), 5–28, at 9–12; and Rowan Williams, "Holy Folly and the Problem of Representing Holiness: Some Literary Perspectives," *Journal of Orthodox Christian Studies* 1/1 (2018): 3–15, at 3–6 (who specifically addresses its relevance in the context of holy folly).

In what follows, I look at a number of hagiographical texts from the early and middle Byzantine periods featuring characters belonging to one of the three professional groups mentioned above.[14] These texts were chosen because they offer rich and varied material for discussion. This chapter does not claim exhaustiveness in its presentation of the presence of these character types in the Greek hagiographical corpus overall. In the first part of the chapter, I look at narratives in which prostitutes/actors/tavernkeepers appear as side characters. In the second part, I turn to hagiographies in which the saint him-/herself belongs to one of these professions.

1 Prostitutes, Actors, and Tavernkeepers as Side Characters: the *Life of Symeon Salos*

In a discussion about prostitutes, actors, and tavernkeepers in Greek hagiography, the *Life of Symeon Salos* (BHG 1677) quickly comes to mind.[15] It features side characters from all three professions.[16] It therefore becomes the focus in this part of the chapter.

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[12] For more in-depth discussion, see Thomas, "The City Became a Desert," 24–27.

[13] Naturally, there are limits to the efficiency of such retrospective processes of narrativization, as Williams, "Holy Folly and the Problem of Representing Holiness," 4 remarks with regard to the holy fool. Derek Krueger, "Hagiography as an Ascetic Practice in the Early Christian East," *The Journal of Religion* 79/2 (1999): 216–232 discusses how the demand for humility in the image of the saintly character spills over into the hagiographer's self-presentation.

[14] The texts discussed in this chapter are all dated between the 5th and 10th centuries. Specific information on the (approximate) time of composition of each text is provided in the footnotes below.

[15] I follow the edition from André J. Festugière, *Vie de Syméon le Fou et Vie de Jean de Chypre, en collaboration avec L. Rydén* (Paris, 1974), and I cite the translation from Krueger, *Symeon the Holy Fool*. The *Life of Symeon* is dated to the 7thcentury.

[16] I chose to exclude the *Life of Andrew Salos* from my discussion (BHG 115z; ed. Lennart Rydén, *The Life of St Andrew the Fool, Vol. II: Text, Translation and Notes*, Studia Byzantina Upsaliensia 4/2 [Uppsala, 1995]), because the presence of the three professional groups is slightly more prominent in the *Life of Symeon*. Nevertheless, they are similarly part of the urban landscape in which Andrew operates. For instance, as noted by Saradi, "The City in Byzantine Hagiography," 434: "there are indecent mimes on the street performing buffooneries, and these are included among the sinners" (see lines 2007–2010 and 2377–2378). Taverns and brothels are depicted as well (e.g. lines 232–244, 298–340, and 1407–1409).

Of course, this is not to say that prostitutes, actors, or tavernkeepers are not found as side characters in other Greek hagiographical accounts (some of which I will briefly touch on as well). Symeon's narrative roughly consists of two parts. The first is set in a monastic/anchoretic environment, the second in the city of Emesa, where he plays the fool to hide his holiness and secretly lead the citizens on a virtuous path. Unsurprisingly, it is in the latter, urban setting that the characters of interest to us come to the fore.[17] However, it is not just that the urban setting invites the depiction of prostitutes, actors, and tavernkeepers (indeed typically urban figures). Socially marginal figures play an important role in this text primarily because the saint himself, on account of his fool's act, frequents the margins of society. As a result, he is considered a tramp and a lunatic himself, and he suffers all sorts of verbal and physical abuse and humiliation.[18]

While the focus of hagiographical studies has long been on the saint, secondary characters in hagiography have lately received increased attention.[19] At the same time, they are usually studied in their capacity as foils for holy protagonists. It is true that, in many cases, the characters appearing alongside saints have little-developed roles or represent a generic category (e.g. bystander, monk, noblewoman, servant, eparch). Sometimes they do not even receive a proper name. Often, acting as the hagiographer's source, their function is to guarantee the narration's trustworthiness, since their reliability is ensured by their personal involvement in the depicted events

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[17] For a discussion of the urban landscape depicted in the *Life of Symeon* and its reflection of the society of 7th-century Neapolis (Cyprus) to which its author, Leontius, belonged, see Krueger, *Symeon the Holy Fool*; Kaplan and Kountoura-Galaki, "Economy and Society in Byzantine Hagiography," 396–397; and Saradi, "The City in Byzantine Hagiography," 424–425. The ideological opposition between the desert and the city (on which see also below, p. 334 and n. 193) propagated in this text is widely commented: John Saward, *Perfect Fools: Folly for Christ's Sake in Catholic and Orthodox Spirituality* (Oxford, 1980), 19; Vincent Déroche, *Études sur Léontios de Néapolis*, Studia Byzantina Upsaliensia 3 (Uppsala, 1995), 109–111; Vincent Déroche, *Syméon Salos. Le fou en Christ* (Paris, 2000), 61; and Krueger, *Symeon the Holy Fool*, 45–47.

[18] For more discussion of the holy fool as a 'liminal' figure on the margins of society, I refer to José Grosdidier de Matons, "Les thèmes d'édification dans la vie d'André Salos," *TM* 4 (1970): 277–328, at 302–311; Krueger, *Symeon the Holy Fool*, ch. 6; Sergey A. Ivanov, *Holy Fools in Byzantium and Beyond* (Oxford, 2006), 108–120; and Christopher Johnson, "Between Madness and Holiness: Symeon of Emesa and 'the Pedagogics of Liminality,'" in *From the Fifth Century Onwards (Greek Writers): Papers presented at the Sixteenth International Conference on Patristic Studies held in Oxford 2011*, ed. Markus Vinzent, Studia Patristica 68 (Leuven, 2013), 261–266.

[19] E.g., Flavia Ruani, "Thecla Beyond Thecla: Secondary Characters in Syriac Hagiography," in *Thecla and Medieval Sainthood: The Acts of Paul and Thecla in Eastern and Western Hagiography*, eds. Ghazzal Dabiri and Flavia Ruani (Cambridge, 2022), 142–174; and Stephanos Efthymiadis, "Saints and Secondary Heroes in Byzantine Hagiography," in *Constructing Saints in Greek and Latin Hagiography: Heroes and Heroines in Late Antique and Medieval Narrative*, eds. Koen De Temmerman, Julie Van Pelt, and Klazina Staat (Turnhout, 2023), 33–56.

(John the Deacon in the *Life of Symeon* is an example).[20] Alternatively, their presence serves as a mirror for the reader, who is compelled to mimic the side characters in their reactions to the saint and narrative events.[21] Nevertheless, in what follows, I discuss the side characters in their own right. Naturally, the saint cannot be excluded from such a discussion. Yet, rather than looking at the side characters as another way of studying the saint, I investigate in turn how the image of the saint reflects on the prostitutes, actors, and tavernkeepers found by his side.

Before turning to these characters, however, I wish to make one more preliminary observation regarding the narrative framework in which they appear. Already before Symeon's arrival in Emesa, the text signals the complex relation of social and spiritual status. After spending two years as an anchorite in the desert, Symeon appears to his old mother, whom he abandoned to become a monk, to console her regarding himself. He tells her not to grieve, "for we are well, lord John and I, and we are healthy, and we have entered service in the emperor's palace, and behold we wear crowns which the emperor placed upon us and glorious robes."[22] Symeon draws on traditional symbols of social status (imperial connections, crowns and glorious robes) as metaphors for the spiritual status that he has acquired through his new, monastic life.[23] Interestingly, the life he abandoned was one of wealth, luxury, and (we may assume) social status.[24] It was also one of delusion and sin.[25] Symeon exchanges his well-to-do environment for a position as a solitary monk and, later, as a complete outcast in the city of Emesa. Nevertheless, this social degradation involves a significant increase of spiritual status: his selfless performance as village lunatic, designed to save others while avoiding praise, makes him exceptionally virtuous. In short, Symeon trades high social status for low social status, but by the same token, low spiritual standing is replaced with high spiritual standing. The narrative thus broadcasts that being on the margins of society does not necessarily imply religious marginality. In Symeon's case, it ensures his spiritual centrality, which is revealed to the other citizens after his death. The inverse correlation between social and spiritual status resonates with the late antique Christian ideal of flight from the world.[26] The question is whether it also applies to the side characters, whose professions anchor them in society and whose marginal positions are thus not a matter of detachment from the world. What is the relation of social and spiritual status in their case? As we will see, their situation proves to be more complex.

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[20] A hagiographical device termed "la fiction littéraire du témoin bien informé" by Hippolyte Delehaye, *Les Passions des martyrs et les genres littéraires* (Brussels, 1966), 182–183. For more about John the Deacon in the *Life of Symeon* as an example, see Julie Van Pelt, "The Hagiographer as Holy Fool? Fictionality in Saints' Lives," in *The Hagiographical Experiment: Developing Discourses of Sainthood*, eds. Christa Gray and James Corke-Webster, Vigiliae Christianae Supplements 158 (Leiden, 2020), 63–92, at 73–75.

[21] See Christodoulos Papavarnavas, "The Role of the Audience in the Pre-Metaphrastic Passions," *AB* 134/1 (2016): 66–82 on how this works in pre-Metaphrastic passions. On Zosimas' role in the *Life of Mary of Egypt*, see Stavroula Constantinou, *Female Corporeal Performances: Reading the Body in Byzantine Passions and Lives of Holy Women*, Studia Byzantina Upsaliensia 9 (Uppsala, 2005), 63.

[22] *Life of Symeon*, p. 72, line 26–p. 73, line 3.

[23] By choosing these sartorial embellishments, the hagiographer draws on a common Christian trope that marks clothing as symbolic and as connoting identity. Moreover, as Georgia Frank, Susan R. Holman, and Andrew S. Jacobs remark, "garment imagery often helped decode visionary experiences," and in the case of saints, royal robes particularly signal imitation of Christ's ascension and enthronement ("Introduction. Dangling Bodies, Robes of Glory: The Garb of Embodiment in Ancient Christianity," in *The Garb of Being: Embodiment and the Pursuit of Holiness in Late Ancient Christianity*, eds. Georgia Frank, Susan R. Holman and Andrew S. Jacobs [New York, 2020], 1–12, at 4). The connection between the problem of spiritual status, the paradox of holiness, and *imitatio Christi* is highlighted by Marco Formisano, "Text, Authenticity, and Imagination: The Example of the *Martyrium Polycarpi*," in *For Example: Martyrdom and Imitation in Early Christian Texts and Art*, eds. Anja Bettenworth, Dietrich Boschung, and Marco Formisano (Leiden, 2020), 123–142. Cf. n. 35 below.

[24] See *Life of Symeon*, p. 58, line 22–p. 59, line 1: ἵππους / εὔποροι / δούλοις and p. 63, lines 13–14: σώματα ἁπαλὰ / ἱματίοις μαλακοῖς / τρυφηλοῦ βίου.

[25] *Life of Symeon*, p. 63, line 15 mentions "ἀπάτη."

Symeon associates with all sorts of people in Emesa. Among them are prostitutes[27] and actors or *dêmotai*.[28] It should be noted, moreover, that there is often no clear difference between women of the stage and prostitutes in the Byzantine context.[29] For instance, it is mentioned that Symeon has the habit of playing with "dancing-girls"[30] in the theater, who "threw their hands into his lap, fondled him, poked him, and pinched him."[31] He also regularly works for a tavernkeeper[32] and a phouska-seller,[33] a profession comparable to that of tavernkeeper in terms of social standing. The *phouskarios* sold vinegar-soup, baked beans, and boiled lentils in the market-place, which, according to Krueger, must have been humble fare.[34] That Sy-

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26 On this hagiographical *topos*, see Thomas Pratsch, *Der hagiographische Topos* (Berlin, 2005), ch. 6 and 7.

27 E.g. *Life of Symeon*, p. 79, lines 11–13, p. 89, lines 14–18, and p. 90, line 14.

28 I.e. "members of circus factions;" e.g. *Life of Symeon* p. 81, lines 13–14, p. 84, lines 7–19, and p. 97, line 16–p. 98, line 13, where he shares a meal with them.

29 As explained by Dorothea R. French, "Maintaining Boundaries: The Status of Actresses in Early Christian Society," *Vigiliae Christianae* 52 (1998): 293–318, at 296: "according to Roman law actresses were classed with prostitutes as *humiles abiectaeque personae* as it was assumed that both prostitutes and actresses earned money by selling sexual favors." See Claudine Dauphin, "Brothels, Baths and Babes: Prostitution in the Byzantine Holy Land," *Classics Ireland* 3 (1996): 47–72, at 54–55; Webb, *Demons and Dancers*, 49; Ruth Webb, "Female Entertainers in Late Antiquity," in *Greek and Roman Actors: Aspects of an Ancient Profession*, eds. Pat Easterling and Edith Hall (Cambridge, 2002), 282–303; and Ariantzi, "Byzantinische Prostituierte," 3–4, who offers further references.

30 The word used is θυμελική.

31 *Life of Symeon*, p. 88, line 29–p. 89, line 3.

32 κάπηλος: *Life of Symeon*, p. 81, line 8–p. 82, line 10.

33 φουσκάριος: *Life of Symeon*, p. 80, line 5–p. 81, line 4.

34 Krueger, *Symeon the Holy Fool*, 151, n. 31 and 34. See also Ewald Kislinger, "ΦΟΥΣΚΑ UND ΓΛΗΧΩΝ," *JÖB* 34 (1984): 49–53, at 50. Note that in the *Life of Andrew* the term φουσκάριον (line 235) is used for an establishment that sells wine, hence a kind of tavern.

meon is not ashamed to share the company of these characters is certainly an example of *imitatio Christi*, which, as scholars have noted, contributes in important ways to Symeon's characterization.[35] But instead of thinking about how Symeon's acquaintance with these figures shapes the saint's image, I propose thinking about how it impacts the image of the members of these groups themselves.

The fact that the members of these professional groups share the company of a holy man positively affects their image. At the level of the story, their social standing is initially not improved by it, given that the citizens do not understand Symeon's virtue. However, being associated with the saint boosts their image at a different level, namely in the mind of the reader, who *is* aware of Symeon's true identity. The whole point of the story is that Symeon, even though he may come across as marginal and despicable to the ignorant citizens, is discovered to be a spiritual hero at the end. He is therefore often cited as an example of 'secret sanctity,' a popular narrative scheme in late antique hagiography.[36] This also raises the status of the ones who share his marginal position. It invites the audience—the extra-textual as well as (eventually) the intra-textual—to wonder who else might be worthier than their appearances suggest, for there is more than meets the eye.

This point is illustrated by a scene involving the phouska-shop. Two monks looking for answers to a theological question are told to go see Symeon in Emesa. When they find the saint in the phouska-seller's shop, eating beans, they immediately lose their respect for the man. One of them sarcastically comments, "truly we have come to see a great sage; this man has much to explain to us."[37] In other words, the monks quickly dismiss Symeon's spiritual authority based on his social environment. It demonstrates that the *phouskarios*' shop was generally held in very little esteem. Nevertheless, Symeon's response turns the tables around. He subtly reproaches them —"have you found fault with my beans?"[38]—suggesting that the fault is with those who judge solely on the basis of (humble) appearances.[39] The two monks are accordingly revealed to be spiritually inferior to the one eating beans in the phouska-shop. The conclusion is that social standing matters not when it comes to spiritual worth.

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[35] For elaborate discussions, see Ewald Kislinger, "Symeon Salos' Hund," *JÖB* 38 (1988): 165–170, at 165; Déroche, *Syméon Salos*, 70–71; Jan Hofstra, *Leontios von Neapolis und Symeon der heilige Narr: Ein Pastor als Hagiograph*, PhD Thesis (Groningen, 2008), 301–339; Krueger, *Symeon the Holy Fool*, 108–125; and Derek Krueger, "From Comedy to Martyrdom: The Shifting Theology of the Byzantine Holy Fool from Symeon of Emesa to Andrew," in *Holy Fools and Divine Madmen: Sacred Insanity Through Ages and Cultures*, eds. Albrecht Berger and Sergey A. Ivanov (Neuried, 2018), 31–49, esp. 32–36. On *imitatio Christi* in general, see Anja Bettenworth, Dietrich Boschung and Marco Formisano, eds., *For Example: Martyrdom and Imitation in Early Christian Texts and Art* (Leiden, 2020).

[36] On secret sanctity in hagiography, see Wilhelm Bousset, "Der verborgene Heilige," *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft* 21 (1922): 1–17; Bernard Flusin, "Le serviteur caché ou le saint sans existence," in *La vie des saints à Byzance: genre littéraire ou biographie historique? Actes du deuxième colloque international philologique « EPMHNEIA »*, eds. Paolo Odorico and Panagiotis Agapitos, Dossiers Byzantins 4 (Paris, 2004), 59–71; Britt Dahlman, *Saint Daniel of Sketis: A Group of Hagiographic Texts Edited with Introduction, Translation and Commentary*, Studia Byzantina Upsaliensia 10 (Uppsala, 2007), ch. 2; and Klazina Staat, "Emplotting Total Devotion: Secrecy, Fame, and Imitation in Late Antique *Lives* of Christian Ascetics," *Religion* 53/1 (2023): 135–160. On its relevance in the context of holy folly, see among others Krueger, *Symeon the Holy Fool*, ch. 4; Sergey A. Ivanov, "From 'Secret Servants of God' to 'Fools for Christ's Sake' in Byzantine Hagiography," *Византийский временник* 55 (1998): 188–194; and Williams, "Holy Folly and the Problem of Representing Holiness," 3–4, who points to its relevance for the problem of pride (cf. above).

[37] *Life of Symeon*, p. 87, line 7.

There is, however, another side to the medal. Seeking the company of prostitutes, actors, and tavernkeepers/phouska-sellers is a deliberate choice for Symeon, motivated by two things. These correspond to the twofold goal of his mission, i.e., to remain hidden and to lead others to virtue. First, it is part of his cover. Associating with people from the social margins effectively places himself there too. It is therefore instrumental to his main goal of disguising his true identity as a holy man. That this strategy has the desired effect can be gathered from the reaction of a certain village headman as he meets Symeon (the two monks in the phouska-shop present another example). After hearing rumors about him, the village headman travels to Emesa to find out whether Symeon is truly a madman or only pretending. Encountering Symeon "by chance while one prostitute was carrying him and another was whipping him," he concludes, scandalized, that he is truly an idiot. Hence, it is (at least in part) due to the prostitutes' company that Symeon's secret identity remains undetected. This has a marginalizing effect on these women. If it is by seeking their company that Symeon can successfully pass for a lunatic and a tramp, the implicit assumptions about those in their position are ultimately unfavorable. This means that these assumptions do not just exist in the eyes of the citizens inhabiting the story world: if we assume that the narrative aims to adhere to a certain level of plausibility, they must be shared by the narrative's author and audience as well.[40]

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[38] *Life of Symeon*, p. 87, lines 10–11.

[39] As noted by Ivanov, *Holy Fools in Byzantium and Beyond*, 121: "the vita ends with a passionate plea not to judge (p. 103, line 14–p. 104, line 4)."

[40] The historicity/fictionality of much hagiography remains open to debate. While it seems certain that hagiography is often fiction in the sense that it is the product of creative invention to large extents, it is unsure whether hagiography is comparable to modern fiction in the sense of a game of make-believe in which author and audience both recognize but agree to ignore the non-historicity of (part of) what is depicted; for further discussion, see Claudia Rapp, "Storytelling as Spiritual Communication in Early Greek Hagiography: The Use of *Diegesis*," *Journal of Early Christian Studies* 6/3 (1998): 431–448; Turner, *Truthfulness, Realism, Historicity*; Charis Messis, "Fiction and/or Novelisation in Byzantine Hagiography," in *The Ashgate Research Companion to Byzantine Hagiography, Volume II: Genres and Contexts*, ed. Stephanos Efthymiadis (Burlington, VT, 2014), 313–342; and Van Pelt, "The Hagiographer as Holy Fool?" Either way, it can be safely assumed that plausibility was an important criterion in hagiographical narrative writing, as it is in most narrative writing, whether fiction or not. For more on the standard of plausibility in hagiography, see Roger Ray, "The Triumph of Greco-Roman Rhetorical Assumptions in Pre-Carolingian Historiography," in *The Inheritance of Historiography 350–900*, eds. Christopher Holdsworth and Timothy Peter Wiseman (Exeter, 1986), 67–84, at 72–74;

The second reason why Symeon seeks the company of socially marginal figures is that these people are particularly in need of edification and religious reform. This is self-evident in the case of prostitutes. Creating a disreputable image for himself is only part of the reason why Symeon mingles with them. His main intention is to turn these women away from their sinful lifestyles. He does this by paying them to be his girlfriends and to be chaste.[41] (Note that this only elevates their spiritual standing, but it does not actually elevate their social position: their bodies are still controlled by a paying customer, and in the eyes of the other citizens, who believe Symeon is a regular customer, nothing about their situation has changed.) Symeon also turns his attention to stage performers. They are also in need of reform based solely on the nature of their profession.[42] Regarding a juggler, for instance, we read that “the righteous one wanted to put a stop to such an evil thing—for the juggler mentioned had done some good deeds.”[43] This exposes the paradox in the juggler’s position: his profession, referred to as “such an evil thing (τὸ τοιοῦτον κακόν),” corrupts his spiritual condition but does not prevent him from demonstrating a certain moral worth. Finally, Symeon aims to set straight the phouska-seller and the tavernkeeper as well. They, too, live morally reprehensible lives. The phouska-seller is a heretic of the Acephalic Severian sect and the tavernkeeper a heartless and avaricious man.[44]

We encounter the stereotype of the greedy and violent tavernkeeper elsewhere, e.g. in the miracle story of saint Nicolas of Myra regarding the couple John and Thamaris.[45] The couple is wealthy and devoted to Nicolas’ cult. After losing everything (including their children and slaves) to a Saracen raid, their only concern is how they will contribute to the celebration of Nicolas’ memory. Thamaris decides to sell a family heirloom to a tavernkeeper. They agree on a price of five coins. At that point, the saint appears in the guise of a monk and demands to buy the goods. The *kapêlos* now demands a price of seven coins, even though he was willing to pay only five himself. Then he reaches over to smack the saint to the ground. As punishment, his hand is shriveled. All ends well as the saint grants Thamaris her belongings and seven coins, and he later returns the couple’s slaves and children. Another example is the *Life and Martyrdom of Stephen the Younger* (BHG 1666), where the martyr’s body is mutilated

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and Rapp, “Storytelling as Spiritual Communication.” General discussion on the standard of plausibility in narrative may be found in *Recherches sémiologiques: Le vraisemblable*, Communications 11, ed. Tzvetan Todorov (Paris, 1968).

[41] *Life of Symeon*, p. 89, lines 14–18. This aspect of Symeon’s behavior finds a parallel in the behavior of Vitalius in the *Life of John the Almsgiver*, also written by Leontius of Neapolis. For more discussion, see Grosdidier de Matons, “Les thèmes d’édification,” 310–311; Krueger, *Symeon the Fool*, 30, 33, n. 46, and 67; and Ivanov, *Holy Fools in Byzantium and Beyond*, 126–129.

[42] See above, n. 7, for more on the reason why.

[43] *Life of Symeon*, p. 84, lines 7–9.

[44] Cf. *Life of Symeon*, p. 80, line 21 and p. 81, lines 9–10 respectively.

[45] *Miraculum de navibus frumentariis*, ch. 7–10, ed. Gustav Anrich, *Hagios Nikolaos: Der Heilige Nikolaos in der griechischen Kirche. Texte und Untersuchungen*, vol. 1 (Berlin, 1913), 288–299.

by a by-standing *kapêlos* when the corpse is dragged through the city.[46] Thinking the saint is still alive, he grabs a firebrand from the fire on which he is frying fish and knocks it against the saint's head, cracking his skull. Both stories illustrate that *kapêloi*, on top of their reprehensible professional activity (the tavern was a place of licentiousness and sin), had a reputation of unrighteousness.[47]

Symeon's concealed efforts to correct the prostitutes, actors, and tavernkeepers he meets inevitably counter the positive effect of his association with them (which I discussed above). His efforts are hidden to most characters in the story, but they are known to the reader. Consequently, to the other citizens there may be no difference between Symeon and the rest of the underclass, yet to the reader there is: one (the saint) is in a position of spiritual power and authority, whereas the other (the prostitute/actor/tavernkeeper) is in a position of subordination and learning. The need for religious reform reaffirms the inferior position in which these characters, on account of their professions, find themselves. The holy man may share their company, but ultimately he is not one of them.[48] Hence, though they may occupy the same social space, spiritually these characters are marginal vis-à-vis the saint.

Above I suggested that the *Life of Symeon* plays with an inversion of social and spiritual status: low social status equals high spiritual status and *vice versa*. However, it turns out that this inversion applies only to the protagonist. It does not hold true for the side characters who belong to professional groups that are traditionally marginalized, both socially and spiritually. Their position proves to be more complex. By attesting to the idea that social and spiritual status are disconnected, the narrative redeems characters who suffer from low social esteem. Symeon dwells with tavernkeepers and prostitutes, but he also clowns around in the houses of the wealthy.[49] He reproaches members of each social class: those at the bottom of society, but also merchants, monks, and important men.[50] This undermines the difference between the top and the bottom of the social ladder. All are held to equal spiritual standards before God. As Despoina Ariantzi suggests, Symeon thus becomes a middle-man between the socially marginalized and the respected but equally morally depraved elite.[51] Moreover, the notion of 'secret sanctity,' embodied by the saint, constructs a positive image for characters on the margins. At the same time, the characters in question do not emerge liberated from their social stigma. In a way, the stigma is even reinforced because their marginal positions are instrumental to the plotline of disguise. Secondly, even if the narrative subverts the ideal of social standing, it still portrays these professional groups as belonging manifestly on the spiritual margins. A juggler who does good remains a sinner who must be reformed. In conclusion, the portrait that emerges is characterized by contradictory tendencies, highlighting these characters' spiritual potential on the one hand, yet corroborating their outsider positions on the other.

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[46] *Life of Stephen the Younger*, ch. 71, lines 1–6, ed. Marie-France Auzépy, *La Vie d'Etienne le Jeune par Etienne le Diacre* (Aldershot, 1997).

[47] As discussed by W. C. Firebaugh, *The Inns of Greece & Rome: A History of Hospitality from the Dawn of Time to the Middle Ages* (Chicago, 1928), 63–67, the bad reputation of tavernkeepers can be traced back to antiquity.

[48] Cf. *Life of Symeon*, p. 96, line 16: Symeon dwells with demoniacs, but they chase him away, recognizing that he is different ("οὐκ εἶ ἐξ ἡμῶν").

[49] Cf. *Life of Symeon*, p. 85, lines 10–11.

[50] E.g. *Life of Symeon*, p. 99, line 15–p. 100, line 4.

[51] Ariantzi, "Byzantinische Prostituierte," 33.

2 Prostitutes, Actors, and Tavernkeepers as Saints

I now turn to hagiographical texts in which prostitutes, actors, or tavernkeepers feature as the narratives' protagonists. These saints epitomize the contradictions that characterize the figures discussed above: they combine socially and spiritually contemptible professions with holiness itself. They therefore challenge and subvert the *topos* of holy men and women descending from noble and wealthy families.[52] Their narratives exemplify the possibility of advancing from the margins to the center. However, as we will see, they often do so in ways that both elevate and marginalize members of these professional groups.

The following discussion is organized into two parts. First, I discuss figures who start out as practitioners of one of these professions but change their lives, repent, and continue on to becoming saints. I am specifically concerned with repentant prostitutes, also known as 'holy harlots.' Second, I will discuss examples of characters who never abandon their professional activities but are virtuous Christians (and indeed saints) while maintaining active professional lives. The first of these examples features a tavernkeeper, while two others concern men from the theatrical world.

2.1 From Sinner to Saint

Stories about repentant prostitutes who became holy women were quite popular in Byzantium.[53] Greek hagiography knows a handful of them. These include the *Lives* of Mary the niece of Abraham (BHG 5),[54] Eudocia (BHG 604–605), Mary of Egypt (BHG 1042), Pelagia (BHG 1478), Thaïs (BHG 1695), and Theophanes and Pansemne (BHG

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[52] See Pratsch, *Der hagiographische Topos*, ch. 2A.

[53] I exclude from my discussion the many female saints who are admitted to a brothel against their will, often as punishment by an evil pagan governor (examples are found in the *Martyrdom of Agnes*, the *Life of Theodora and Didymus*, the *Life of Alexandra and Antoninus*, the *Martyrdom of Lucia of Syracuse*, and the *Martyrdom of Irene, Agape and Chione*).

[54] Mary's story is embedded in the *Life* of her uncle, Abraham. However, the part dealing with Mary also circulated separately in medieval manuscripts (e.g. Escorial (El-), Real Biblioteca, Ω. IV. 32, fol. 102r–108r). This suggests that it was read as a self-contained narrative as well. Mary's character is

2447).[55] They have been discussed in a number of recent studies.[56] As Karras remarks, holy harlots embodied the message that confession and penance "could wipe out the worst of sins" in the most dramatic way.[57] She also notes that the harlot's professional life usually takes up only a small portion of the narrative: it constitutes the background for the central story of her conversion from sin and her repentance. This is true in a number of cases (Eudocia, Pelagia, Thaïs).[58] However, in other cases, it seems the story's attraction partly lies in the juicy details about the saint's life before her conversion (Mary of Egypt) or in the sexually charged scene in which a male monastic figure visits the prostitute in order to trigger her repentance (Mary Abraham's niece, Pansemne). In those cases we are presented with a fuller image of the protagonist as prostitute, which clashes dramatically with her later image as holy woman. It is the spectacular reversal from one to the other that was probably experienced as particularly inspiring and entertaining.[59] It is also this reversal—present in all holy

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strongly developed and carries much of the narrative and emotional focus. It is therefore not unjustified to say that she is presented as a saint and a protagonist alongside her uncle.

[55] The list is not necessarily exhaustive, but these may be considered as the most important ones. Monastic literature also features brief stories about prostitutes converted by monks, as discussed in n. 4 above. In these brief stories, the women arguably do not take on the role of holy protagonist.

[56] Notably: Ward, *Harlots of the Desert*; Ruth M. Karras, "Holy Harlots: Prostitute Saints in Medieval Legend," *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 1/1 (1990): 3–32; Lynda L. Coon, *Sacred Fictions: Holy Women and Hagiography in Late Antiquity* (Philadelphia, 1997), ch. 4; Patricia Cox Miller, "Is There a Harlot in This Text? Hagiography and the Grotesque," *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 33/3 (2003): 419–435; Virginia Burrus, *The Sex Lives of Saints: An Erotics of Ancient Hagiography* (Philadelphia, 2004), ch. 4; Constantinou, *Female Corporeal Performances*, ch. 2; and Christopher M. Flavin, *Constructions of Feminine Identity in the Catholic Tradition: Inventing Women* (Lanham, MD, 2020), 32–37. See Ariantzi, "Byzantinische Prostituierte," 13–16 for further examples and discussion of repenting prostitutes in hagiographical literature.

[57] Karras, "Holy Harlots," 3.

[58] While the Greek *Life of Thaïs* follows the same pattern as the *Lives* of Mary Abraham's niece and Pansemne, i.e., the monastic rescuer infiltrating the brothel, the episode in the former is not spun out into a scene of (ostensible) seduction (see Alice G. Elliott, *Roads to Paradise: Reading the Lives of the Early Saints* [Hanover, 1987], 129, and Burrus, *The Sex Lives of Saints*, 134–135 for more discussion on the seductive nature of the scene in the *Life of Abraham*; see Julie Van Pelt, "The *Life of Thaïs* and the *Life of Abraham and His Niece Mary*: An Intertextual Connection," *Vigiliae Christianae* 71/4 [2017]: 402–416 on the difference with Thaïs' narrative). Even if Thaïs' life as a prostitute before her conversion is described in some detail at the beginning of the narrative, the large majority of the text focuses on her conversion and repentance. The same is true for the narratives of Eudocia and Pelagia. Their lives contain phrases or passages alluding to or describing their sin/spiritual outsider position (see Coon, *Sacred Fictions*, 82–83 on Pelagia). Nevertheless, in other texts this occurs more elaborately, which is why I focus on those.

[59] Ward, *Harlots of the Desert*, 102 and Burrus, *The Sex Lives of Saints*, 128 comment on the popularity of holy harlot narratives. See Constantinou, *Female Corporeal Performances*, 62 on possible reasons for it. She also shows that the reversal from sinner to saint in holy harlot narratives is articulated in a threefold (rather than a twofold) scheme: the harlot moves from a state of sin to a state of holiness through a phase of repentance.

harlot stories but arguably more dramatically articulated in the latter three—which is responsible for the narratives' contradictory image of prostitutes.

It should be noted that Mary of Egypt was a promiscuous woman before her conversion, but she was technically not a prostitute, since she did not take payment when she had intercourse with men.[60] She was poor and lived from begging and spinning.[61] Nevertheless, she slept with men entirely out of "insatiable passion and uncontrollable lust."[62] This may actually worsen her position from a spiritual point of view.[63] According to Karras, prostitutes were associated with lust.[64] Mary fits the bill in that respect. Moreover, because she has no money, she pays with her body for a sea voyage to Jerusalem and is therefore involved in an economical transaction resembling prostitution (be it only a one-time event and not a professional activity). In any case, she certainly led men into sin with her lifestyle, which made her comparable to the other holy harlots.[65] Here, I have so far used 'prostitute' and 'harlot' as interchangeable terms. Although there are nuances, all the women known as 'repentant prostitutes' or 'holy harlots' represent the same image of a loose woman whose lifestyle is characterized by deep sexual immorality (and who may or may not benefit financially from her lovers).[66]

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[60] The point is emphasized in the Greek text attributed to Sophronius (dated to the 7th century), which I follow here (ed. Migne, *PG* 87, col. 3697–3726). The transmission history of the *Life of Mary of Egypt* is, however, notoriously complex (see Anne Marie Sargent, *The Penitent Prostitute: The Tradition and Evolution of the Life of Saint Mary the Egyptian*, PhD Thesis [Ann Arbor, 1977], 6–9) and such details may vary across versions. As Karras, "Holy Harlots," 8–9 shows, it changes in later medieval traditions about Mary of Egypt, where she has become a prostitute working for money. For an elaborate discussion of the diachronic transformation of Mary's (and Zosimas') character in the legend's Byzantine and medieval Western traditions, see Andria Andreou, "Many Faces, a Single Pair: Rewriting Mary and Zosimas in the Legend of Mary of Egypt," in Metaphrasis: *A Byzantine Concept of Rewriting and Its Hagiographical Products*, eds. Stavroula Constantinou and Christian Høgel, The Medieval Mediterranean 125 (Leiden, 2020), 107–138.

[61] Note that prostitutes were not always poor. The *Life of Martinianus* (discussed below; ed. Paul Rabbow, "Die Legende des Martinian," *Wiener Studien, Zeitschrift für Klassische Philologie* 17 [1896]: 277–293) attests to the fact that prostitutes were sometimes quite wealthy (ch. 7, lines 5–7: ἔχω γὰρ καὶ οἰκίαν καὶ χρυσὸν καὶ ἄργυρον καὶ κτῆσιν λαμπρὰν καὶ παῖδας καὶ παιδίσκας). The same is demonstrated in the *Life of Thaïs*, p. 98, lines 4–6, ed. François Nau, "Histoire de Thaïs: publication des textes grecs inédits et de divers autres textes et versions," *Annales du Musée Guimet* 30 (1902): 51–113. According to Karras, "Holy Harlots," 6, prostitutes were not just associated with lust in the Middle Ages, but also with greed.

[62] *Life of Mary of Egypt*, ch. 18.

[63] Coon, *Sacred Fictions*, 86 notes: "By classical standards, Mary was the worst kind of harlot because she engaged in intercourse not from financial need but to satisfy lust."

[64] Karras, "Holy Harlots," 6.

[65] Cf. *Life of Theophanes and Pansemne*, p. 321, lines 6–7, ed. E. de Stoop, "La vie de Theophane et de Pansemne," *Le musée belge: revue de philologie classique* 15 (1911): 313–329: πολλὰς ψυχὰς ἀνθρώπων ἀπώλεσεν καὶ ἔτι ἀπόλλει; and *Life of Thaïs*, p. 88, line 18–p. 90, line 2 (ed. Nau, "Histoire de Thaïs"): οὕτως παγὶς πολλοῖς καὶ βόθρος θανάτου τυγχάνουσα, τήν τε αὐτῆς ψυχὴν καθ' ἑκάστην ἐβαράθριζε, καὶ πάντων τῶν πλησιαζόντων αὐτῇ. See Karras, "Holy Harlots," 6 on prostitutes (and women in general) as the mechanism for male downfall, and see Ariantzi, "Byzantinische Prostituierte," 8 for similar observations.

The story of Mary's promiscuous life leaves little to the imagination. It describes at length Mary's insatiable lust and her many sexual escapades.[67] Nevertheless, we hear it from the mouth of Mary herself, when she meets the monk Zosimas towards the end of her life and tells him in a strong apologetic tone of her shameful past.[68] As Constantinou remarks, "Mary's 'I' is divided into an 'I' of the past and an 'I' of the present, differing from each other bodily, morally and mentally."[69] Hence, this particular narrative set-up (namely, Mary the ascetic as narrator of the story of Mary the harlot) adds to the stark contrast between the two conflicting images of the protagonist. Moreover, the contradictory position of the holy harlot is highlighted by the central event in Mary's story, the event which triggered her repentance. In Jerusalem, Mary wanted to join the crowd entering the church during the feast of the Exaltation of the Cross. Yet, whenever she tried to make her way in through the church's entrance, she was pushed back by an invisible force.[70] Just as the prostitute from the *Sayings of the Desert Fathers* discussed at the beginning of this chapter, Mary was literally excluded from the church (though the specific means are different). Interestingly, however, it was on this very threshold denying her entrance that "a salvific word touched the eyes of her heart" and awakened in her the will to change and the strength to repent, initiating her inclusion in the Christian spiritual community. Next, Mary was able to physically enter the church thanks to the intercession of the Theotokos. The scene substantiates the harlot's position on the borderline between exclusion and inclusion, on the threshold between sinner and repentant saint.

The same contradictory image emerges from the first meeting between Zosimas and Mary (narrated before the story of Mary's sinful life but taking place later in the chronology of the *fabula*). While he sees grace in her,[71] she asks him why he has come to see "a sinful woman, (. . .) deprived of every virtue," subordinating herself to his priestly rank.[72] At the same time, the very fact that she still regards herself as a sinful woman after so many years of solitude in fact confirms her humility and spiritual accomplishments. Her words turn around any immediate assumptions one may have regarding these characters: the one with a priestly rank (Zosimas) appears spiritually

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66 See Constantinou, *Female Corporeal Performances*, 57 for the nuances. At 65, Constantinou furthermore notes that the harlot's sin also lies in the extravagant care for her body (the opposite of the typical Christian disregard for it). For Byzantine terminology for prostitutes, I refer to Ariantzi, "Byzantinische Prostituierte," 2–3.

67 See Constantinou, *Female Corporeal Performances*, 62–63, referring to Gaunt, for further discussion.

68 Cf., e.g., *Life of Mary of Egypt*, ch. 18: συγχώρησον, and ch. 17: αἰσχύνομαι.

69 Constantinou, *Female Corporeal Performances*, 77.

70 *Life of Mary of Egypt*, ch. 22.

71 *Life of Mary of Egypt*, ch. 13.

72 *Life of Mary of Egypt*, ch. 14.

inferior to the one with no rank (Mary); the former prostitute has become a saintly model. The narrative plays with the idea of a role reversal. Nevertheless, the hierarchy between the two ultimately remains ambiguous. Zosimas is called a "holy man" at the beginning of the tale,[73] and, as Coon remarks, "even though the woman walks on water, travels at supernatural speed, and prophesies, at the end of her life she depends on a male priest to cleanse her sins, administer the eucharist to her, and bury her in orthodox fashion."[74] Furthermore, in the way Mary is portrayed after the initial meeting, she appears somehow still bound to her past. Mary levitates during prayer, and when Zosimas sees it, the thought crosses his mind that she might be a demonic spirit who is only pretending to pray.[75] It is not made explicit why the thought entered Zosimas' mind (after all, he does not yet know anything about Mary's identity at this point). It appears therefore that Zosimas' hesitation betrays a bias regarding Mary's background that is located at the highest narrative level, for it is not explained as part of Zosimas' character. She, being a former prostitute, must somehow convince others of the legitimacy of her spiritual status.[76] Burrus compares Zosimas to a "a doubting Thomas" and calls his attempt to learn more about the saint's life as an ascetic a "cross-examination."[77] The scene captures the paradox of the holy harlot's being: she is always in a state of overcoming sin.[78] It is in this 'overcoming' that we simultaneously perceive her worth and her weakness. The very essence of the holy harlot, her 'overcoming,' is the reason why her story is instructive: the harlot advances from the spiritual margins to the center. Yet, this transformation also means that Mary the prostitute will always appear marginal in relation to Mary the saint.

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[73] *Life of Mary of Egypt*, ch. 1.

[74] Coon, *Sacred Fictions*, 89.

[75] *Life of Mary of Egypt*, ch. 15. The text alludes to a familiar scenario from early Christian narrative, in which an impostor figure poses as a holy man/woman, using demonic force to perform extraordinary deeds that resemble miracles. A famous example is Simon Magus, e.g. in the *Apocryphal Acts of the Apostle Peter*; for discussion, see among others Gerard Luttikhuizen, "Simon Magus as a Narrative Figure in the Acts of Peter," in *The Apocryphal Acts of Peter: Magic, Miracles and Gnosticism*, ed. Jan N. Bremmer (Leuven, 1998), 39–51; and Dominique Côté, *Le thème de l'opposition entre Pierre et Simon dans les Pseudo-Clémentines* (Paris, 2001).

[76] Coon, *Sacred Fictions*, 91 interprets Zosimas' hesitation rather in the context of the hierarchy of genders: because Mary is a *female* saint, Zosimas is inclined to see her as a demonic apparition seducing monks. Her interpretation is compatible with mine, since the idea of the female as sexually burdened and the blame on prostitutes as vessels of sin are naturally connected. For discussion of prostitutes as vessels of universal human sin and redemption, see Karras, "Holy Harlots," 32 and Coon, *Sacred Fictions*, 74–77 and 93.

[77] Burrus, *The Sex Lives of Saints*, 152 and Coon, *Sacred Fictions*, 88.

[78] Ariantzi, "Byzantinische Prostituierte," 21 and 28 describes the difficulty with which former prostitutes could lose their stigma. French, "Maintaining Boundaries," 304–317 describes similar difficulties for professional actresses, despite late 4th-century edicts through which actresses had the opportunity to become legally respectable by leaving their profession in the name of Christianity.

While the same general conclusion applies to the other harlots as well, the *Life of Mary the niece of Abraham* and the *Life of Theophanes and Pansemne* both put their own particular spin on the formula.[79] Both tales feature two protagonists and follow the same basic outline: the male protagonist sets out to rescue the female protagonist from her sinful lifestyle to save her soul.[80] The editor of the *Life of Theophanes and Pansemne* points to certain other resemblances between the two narratives.[81] There are also differences. Specific to the *Life of Abraham and Mary* is that the two protagonists are relatives, which means they already knew each other before Abraham's intervention. Moreover, Mary was not always a prostitute: in fact, she was living a chaste life under her uncle's care until she was seduced by the Devil, fell into sin, and ran away to a brothel overwhelmed by guilt. These specific elements have two main implications. First, Mary's career as a prostitute is presented as a mere interlude to her life as an ascetic. Her story is not about spiritual advancement from the margins to the center but about a (temporary) lapse by a person of good standing. Second, disguise is an important theme in this narrative. In the *Life of Theophanes and Pansemne*, the male rescuer also wears a disguise: he changes his hair shirt (a typical monk's garment) for costly garments to support his role as Pansemne's lover.[82] Nevertheless, as I discuss elsewhere, Abraham's disguise (he dresses as a soldier to visit the brothel) is more dramatic and it carries more weight precisely because Mary might recognize her uncle, which would cause the mission to fail.[83] Of interest to us here is that the overall theme of disguised identity also becomes relevant for Mary's character. She changes her appearance before leaving for the brothel,[84] trading her monastic habit for a prostitute's guise.[85] These references to appearance and the parallel with Abraham's disguise invite us to interpret the image of the harlot as a temporary and misleading facade, clouding Mary's true character as a virtuous woman. Again, it marginalizes the saint's career as a prostitute by presenting it as an erroneous interlude that does not represent her true being. As a result, it is hard to see her story as one that promotes spiritual advancement for characters traditionally on the margins.

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[79] The *Life of Mary the niece of Abraham* is relatively well-studied; see, e.g., Elliott, *Roads to Paradise*; Sebastian P. Brock and Susan A. Harvey, *Holy Women of the Syrian Orient* (Berkeley, 1987); and Sergey A. Ivanov, "A Saint in a Whore-house," *BSL* 56/2 (1995): 439–445. The Greek translation of the original Syriac *Life* is hard to date but may have appeared as early as the 6th century (Brock and Harvey, *Holy Women*, 28). I follow the edition by Konstaninos G. Phrantzolas, "In Vitam Beati Abrahamii et Eius Neptis Mariae," in *Ὁσίου Ἐφραίμ τοῦ Σύρου ἔργα, ΤΟΜΟΣ ΕΒΔΟΜΟΣ* (Thessaloniki, 1998), 356–394. The *Life of Theophanes and Pansemne* has received much less scholarly attention thus far. It is edited by De Stoop, "La vie de Theophane et de Pansemne." Again, its date is unsure. All we find is that, according to De Stoop, it was written in the "Byzantine period" (318–319).

[80] A storyline also present in the *Life of Thaïs* (see above, n. 58).

[81] De Stoop, "La vie de Theophane et de Pansemne," 317–318.

[82] *Life of Theophanes and Pansemne*, p. 321, line 20: ἱμάτια πολυτελῆ. Cf. *Life of Thaïs*, p. 90, lines 14–15, ed. Nau, "Histoire de Thaïs."

[83] *Life of Mary Abraham's niece*, p. 382, lines 7–9: ἐνδυσάμενός τε τὸ στρατιωτικὸν σχῆμα, καὶ καμηλαύκιον βαθὺ ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς αὐτοῦ, κατακαλύπτον τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ. See De Stoop, "La vie de Theophane et de Pansemne," 317 and Van Pelt, "The *Life of Thaïs* and the *Life of Abraham*," 411 for discussion.

[84] *Life of Mary Abraham's niece,* p. 380, line 9: ἀλλάξασα τὸ σχῆμα αὐτῆς.

[85] Those are referred to at p. 387, line 1 (τὸ σχῆμα τὸ ἀγγελικόν) and p. 383, line 12 (τὸ πορνικὸν σχῆμα) respectively.

Turning to the *Life of Theophanes and Pansemne*, we encounter yet another variation on the holy harlot's story. Pansemne, as Mary the Egyptian, has always lived a life of great sin. She leads many men astray, until she goes through a remarkable conversion and completely turns her life around. Just as the famous holy harlot Pelagia, she is in fact introduced as an actress[86] who enjoyed certain fame, wealth, and therefore social acclaim. Pelagia and Pansemne thus differ from Mary of Egypt, whose initial position combines both social and spiritual exclusion. The difference attests to the diverging social status of prostitutes in Byzantium.[87] Moreover, both are again examples that actresses were regarded as women with loose sexual morals, considered *pornai* even if they did not take payment from their lovers (although their wealth suggests that they did benefit financially).[88] De Stoop demonstrates that the *Life of Theophanes and Pansemne* and the *Life of Pelagia* display textual resemblances (in addition to resemblances between the former and the *Life of Mary Abraham's niece*).[89] The most striking parallel is in the scene depicting Pansemne parading through the city while seated on a horse, followed by a large group of servants.[90] This is when the virtuous Theophanes first lays eyes on her. His reaction to the sight of her is revealing, both concerning his own character and hers: he is upset.[91] This illustrates Theophanes' deep concern for others and it prepares the events to follow, namely the plight he faces in order to save her soul. It also signals Pansemne's low spiritual status (whereas the parade itself suggests her social centrality, which she will abandon when she repents). Nevertheless, her name (literally 'all-virtuous') paradoxically already alludes to her inner worth. Moreover, Pansemne is portrayed as having quite a temperament. She twice bursts out in rage when Theophanes makes her an unexpected proposal,[92] even if she then quickly complies with it. She is primarily portrayed as a passionate creature. When Theophanes visits her house with a plan to convert her, she is immediately attracted to him because of his handsome looks and falls head over heels in love. The rest of the narrative lends a strong erotic overtone to the conversion story.[93] Theophanes' course of action is to make Pansemne a marriage proposal (hence sacrificing his own monastic goals to save her from promiscuity). In a next phase, however, he adds a condition: in order to marry him, she must convert to Christianity. Agreeing to both the initial marriage proposal and, later, the extra condition, Pansemne begins to study the scriptures and learns about the Christian faith. Eventually, her heart is so touched by faith that she no longer wishes to marry Theophanes and becomes deeply ashamed of her many sins.[94] She spends the rest of her life in great asceticism to repent for them. Eventually, she even performs healing miracles, which demonstrate her holiness. Interestingly, then, Theophanes' marriage proposal and Pansemne's passionate love for him are what lead her to the Christian faith and to sanctity. Therefore, this narrative complicates the position of the repentant prostitute even further, since the vehicle of her conversion is her sin.

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[86] *Life of Theophanes and Pansemne*, p. 321, line 2: μιμάς.

[87] On which see Dauphin, "Brothels, Baths and Babes," 54–60, and above, n. 61.

[88] It is not mentioned in either case that the protagonist takes payment for sex. Their loose sexual morals are, however, made abundantly clear in both texts. Pelagia is also explicitly called *pornê*, e.g. at ch. 12; ed. Bernard Flusin, "Les textes grecs," in *Pélagie la Pénitente: Métamorphoses d'une légende. Tome I: Les textes et leur histoire*, ed. Pierre Petitmengin et al. (Paris, 1981), 39–131.

[89] De Stoop, "La vie de Theophane et de Pansemne," 313–314. Both stories are also set in Antioch.

[90] *Life of Theophanes and Pansemne*, p. 321, line 27–p. 322, line 1. Cf. *Life of Pelagia*, ch. 4–5, ed. Flusin, "Les textes grecs."

[91] *Life of Theophanes and Pansemne*, p. 322, lines 1–2: ἰδὼν ὁ ἅγιος ἐταράχθη ἐν ἑαυτῷ. Compare also the reaction of a group of bishops to the sight of Pelagia as she passes them by in the *Life of Pelagia*, ch. 6, ed. Flusin, "Les textes grecs:" they turn their heads away as if from a terrible sin. Their public gesture is an even clearer sign of the marginalization of the harlot.

Before concluding this section on holy harlots, I wish to discuss the *Life of Martinianus* (BHG 1177), a little-studied text.[95] It also features a prostitute. It would probably go too far to call her a protagonist (she is never even given a name), but she plays an important role in the first part of the *Life*.[96] The reason this narrative is of interest to us here is that it inverts the pattern of the harlot rescued by a holy man. In this story, a prostitute[97] overhears a conversation about the holy Martinianus and his incredible chastity, after which she sets out to find and seduce him. She reasons that his continence is not so admirable, given that he lives secluded in the desert and never lays eyes on a woman. She intends to put him to the test. She even disguises herself by taking off her usual splendid attire and changing into old rags,[98] which is the reverse of what Theophanes does before approaching Pansemne. Next, she appears at Martinianus' cell and convinces him, feigning great distress,[99] that she has lost her way and is in need of help.[100] After being admitted by Martinianus, she dresses up during the night and appears splendidly adorned before the monk in the morning, ready to seduce him.

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[92] *Life of Theophanes and Pansemne*, p. 323, line 2 and p. 324, line 3: μετ' ὀργῆς.

[93] De Stoop, "La vie de Theophane et de Pansemne," 315 comments on the narrative's "forme romanesque."

[94] *Life of Theophanes and Pansemne*, p. 325, line 15–p. 326, line 10.

[95] The text is edited by Rabbow, "Die Legende des Martinian." Translations in this chapter are my own. A critical edition and Italian translation of a Syriac version of this *Life* are by Guido Venturini, "La tradizione manoscritta della *Storia di Martiniano* e le sue versioni siriache," *Le Muséon* 134/3–4 (2021): 283–323.

[96] The text consists of two narrative sections that each present a fairly self-contained episode in Martinianus' life. The first (ch. 1–12) features the prostitute. The second (ch. 12–23) also features an important female side character (though she is not a prostitute). In both cases, the episode closes with the death of the virtuous woman, which indicates their importance as characters.

[97] *Life of Martinianus*, ch. 3, line 14: τις γυνὴ πόρνη.

[98] *Life of Martinianus*, ch. 4, lines 8–9.

[99] *Life of Martinianus*, ch. 4, line 19: μετ' ὀδυρμῶν καὶ κλαυθμῶν.

At first glance, the narrative paints a stereotypical picture of a prostitute: a promiscuous woman who is out to destroy souls and deceives and seduces men (think of Mary of Egypt, who is described as “hunting after the souls of young men”).[101] However, as the narrative develops, the prostitute’s character acquires an extra dimension. While trying to convince Martinianus to share her bed, she takes examples from the Bible and from the Holy Fathers to support her argument.[102] “Did the apostle Paul not say that ‘Marriage is honorable and the bed undefiled’?” she insists.[103] Or “likewise, were not Abraham and Isaac and the noble Jacob and the lawgiver Moses, as well as David and Solomon and all those like them—were they not granted a place in the heavenly kingdom while being married?”[104] The prostitute thus demonstrates her knowledge of the Scriptures, even if she uses it for the wrong purposes. Her unexpected familiarity with Christian doctrine suggests her inherent (yet hidden) virtue. Hence, just as the juggler from the *Life of Symeon*, a sinner who had done good deeds, she represents a paradox.

Her virtuous nature soon gains the upper hand when she witnesses how Martinianus, who has a sudden change of heart, deliberately burns his feet to remind himself of the eternal fires of hell to which he is about to deliver himself. Taking inspiration from his example, she decides to repent of her sins. She spends the rest of her life in a convent, practicing the most severe asceticism.[105] Just as Pansemne, she even performs a healing miracle.[106] The anonymous woman from the *Life of Martinianus* is then arguably also a holy harlot. Moreover, her image is as conflicted as that of the others. The moment of her conversion is described as a sudden awakening and as a remembrance.[107] Again, this suggests that she always possessed inner virtue, even if she developed a strong inclination to sin at the same time. Similarly, the image of the ruthless seductress is balanced by a tendency to exonerate her from blame. The narrator mentions twice that she was inspired by the Devil to execute her plan.[108] And when Martinianus finally finds the strength to turn the woman down, he remarks that "not she is to blame but the one who compelled her to hinder those on the path of virtue."[109]

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[100] Cf. the *Life of Macarius the Roman*, where the Devil visits the monk disguised as a beautiful woman and persuades him with a similar act. Rabbow, “Die Legende des Martinian,” 262–266 notes the similarity and discusses further examples of the motif.

[101] *Life of Mary of Egypt*, ch. 22.

[102] *Life of Martinianus*, ch. 6, lines 13–21.

[103] *Life of Martinianus*, ch. 6, lines 14–15: οὐχὶ Παῦλος ὁ ἀπόστολος εἶπεν “τίμιος ὁ γάμος καὶ ἡ κοίτη ἀμίαντος;” (quoting Hebrews 13:4). Note that the prostitute deliberately pulls the phrase out of context to fit her argument.

[104] *Life of Martinianus*, ch. 6, lines 18–21: ὁμοίως καὶ Ἀβραὰμ καὶ Ἰσαὰκ καὶ Ἰακὼβ ὁ γενναῖος καὶ Μωυσῆς ὁ νομοθέτης Δαυίδ τε καὶ Σολομῶν καὶ πάντες οἱ κατ’ αὐτοὺς οὐχὶ γάμῳ συζευχθέντες ἠξιώθησαν τῆς τῶν οὐρανῶν βασιλείας;

[105] A comparable narrative scheme is present in the Latin *Passion of Chrysanthus and Daria* (BHL 1787–1788), where Chrysanthus’ father, out of disapproval of his son’s chastity, sends him women to seduce him and the latter ends up converting one of them. For more on this *Passion*, see Danny Praet and Annelies Bossu, “A Marriage of Equals? Characterization in the *passio Chrysanthi et Dariae*,” *Philologus* 159/2 (2015): 301–326. I thank Koen De Temmerman for bringing this parallel to my attention.

[106] *Life of Martinianus*, ch. 11, lines 12–19.

To conclude, in Greek hagiography, prostitutes represent icons of conversion and repentance. Their function is to remind Christians that there is always a way into God's kingdom, no matter how far one has strayed from the path of virtue.[110] However, being icons of repentance, they are necessarily also icons of sin. The picture that emerges is ultimately multi-layered and complex. By pulling these women into the spiritual center, the narratives inevitably also acknowledge the margins which they formerly inhabited.

This is different in the case of the final text discussed in this section. Apart from repentant harlots/actresses, there are a number of hagiographical narratives about male mime actors who convert and become Christian martyrs. Scholars usually cite the Martyrdoms of Gelasius, Ardalion, Porphyrius, and Genesius as examples.[111] Of these four, only the *Martyrdom of Porphyrius* has been preserved in Greek (BHG 1569).[112] The mime is miraculously converted in the middle of a stage performance mocking Christian rituals. Hence, Porphyrius is guilty of the same offence as Gaianus, the actor who is punished by the Theotokos and whom I briefly mentioned at the beginning of this chapter. It may therefore come as a surprise that Porphyrius, unlike Gaianus, is never portrayed in a negative light.[113] What little we learn about the mime's background and life before his conversion is neutral in tone.[114] In fact, although he is at the center of the action, Porphyrius is not at the center of the narration in the conversion story.[115] The narrator's account feels impersonal and portrays Porphyrius as a passive player. It focuses on the experience of the spectators who watch him as he undergoes the miraculous conversion. His perspective becomes more prominent only in the second part of the narrative,[116] when he converses with the governor. At this point, the transformation is completed and Porphyrius is depicted in a traditional martyr's role. While this text is of interest to scholars for a number of different reasons, the *Martyrdom of Porphyrius* does not offer new perspectives when it comes to the depiction of the social and spiritual status of actor-saints, for the simple reason that it does not actively address these issues. Indeed, the narrative does not revolve around the internal experience of the converting saint because that is not the point of the story: rather than an individual's spiritual strength in the context of repentance, it exemplifies the external force of Christian symbols.

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[107] *Life of Martinianus*, ch. 9, lines 1–2: ὥσπερ ἐξ ὕπνου βαθυτάτου ἀναστᾶσα καὶ εἰς ἑαυτὴν γεναμένη, and ch. 9, line 4: εἰς μνήμην ἐλθοῦσα τῶν ἑαυτῆς κακῶν πράξεων.

[108] *Life of Martinianus*, ch. 3, line 15 and ch. 7, lines 9–10.

[109] *Life of Martinianus*, ch. 8, lines 8–9: οὐ γὰρ αὐτή ἐστιν αἴτιος ἀλλ' ὁ αὐτὴν παρακινήσας εἰς ἐμπόδιον τῆς ἀγαθῆς ὁδοῦ.

[110] See Ward, *Harlots of the Desert*, esp. ch. 1 and Coon, *Sacred Fictions*, esp. 94.

[111] See Claudia Ludwig, *Sonderformen byzantinischer Hagiographie und ihr literarisches Vorbild: Untersuchungen zu den Viten des Äsop, des Philaretos, des Symeon Salos und des Andreas Salos* (Frankfurt am Main, 1997), ch. 6, esp. 376–380; Panayotakis, "Baptism and Crucifixion;" Juan Antonio J. Sánchez, "Les saints mimes: À propos des conversions miraculeuses des acteurs sur les scènes," in *Controverses et polémiques religieuses: Antiquité – Temps modernes*, eds. Ralph Dekoninck, Janine Desmulliez, and Myriam Watthee-Delmotte (Paris, 2007), 29–38; and Cornelia Horn, "The Syriac *Martyrdom of the Mimes* and the Performance of Biblical Recitation: Questions of Power and Contexts," in *Syriac Hagiography: Texts and Beyond*, eds. Sergey Minov and Flavia Ruani, Texts and Studies in Eastern Christianity 20 (Leiden, 2021), 135–159.

[112] Edited by Charles Van der Vorst, "Une passion inédite de s. Porphyre le mime," *AB* 29 (1910): 258–275. Another version of this *Martyrdom* is found in *AASS* Nov. II tom. 1, pp. 231–232. I follow the first version, as it is more elaborate and more ancient according to Van der Vorst, "Une passion inédite," 264. The memory of Ardalion is preserved in a brief entry in the Synaxarion of Constantinople (18 April). Gelasius is merely mentioned by name in the Synaxarion (26 February) without any narration. On the Syriac Martyrdoms of Gelasius and Ardalion, see Horn, "The Syriac *Martyrdom of the Mimes*." On the Latin *Martyrdom of Genesius* (BHL 3320), see Werner Weismann, "Die 'Passio Genesii mimi' (BHL 3320)," *Mittellateinisches Jahrbuch* 12 (1977): 22–43.

2.2 Professionals as Saints

In the final section of this chapter, I turn to saints whose virtuous lives do not succeed but are embedded within their professional activities. The first example of such a saint is found in the *Martyrdom of Theodotus and the Seven Virgins* (BHG 1782).[117] The martyr celebrated in this account is a tavernkeeper from Ancyra. The *Martyrdom* not only presents a compelling story,[118] it is also written in a sophisticated style. Judging by his work, the author had certain literary aspirations.[119] The text therefore deserves wider attention from modern scholars than it has hitherto received.[120] In the following analysis, I concentrate on the prolog (ch. 1–3) and the first section of the narrative (ch. 4–12),[121] since these develop the theme of tavernkeeping.

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[113] Cf. *Sayings*, ed. Paschos, *Νέον Μητερικόν*, ch. 77, line 8: μετὰ πολλῆς ἀναιδείας, and ch. 77, line 13: ὁ δείλαιος. The actor-martyr Genesius is also characterized negatively: see Webb, *Demons and Dancers*, 125. Nevertheless, I find the gendered division observed here suggestive: while all actors, both male and female, were socially and religiously marginalized (cf. n. 7), it is in stories of female actors' conversions that hagiographers seem to focus on this, while they depict male actors' conversions for other purposes, e.g. to exemplify the power of Christian symbols.

[114] *Martyrdom of Porphyrius*, p. 270, lines 9–18.

[115] *Martyrdom of Porphyrius*, ch. 1–4.

[116] *Martyrdom of Porphyrius*, ch. 5–9.

[117] I follow the edition by Pio Franchi de' Cavalieri, *I martirii di S. Teodoto e di S. Ariadne*, Studi e Testi 6 (Roma, 1901), 61–84, which improves the text offered in the *Acta Sanctorum* (Maii IV, pp. 149–165). According to Franchi de' Cavalieri, the text postdates the reign of Julian the Apostate (22–24). Stephen Mitchell, "The Life of Saint Theodotus of Ancyra," *Anatolian Studies* 32 (1982): 93–113, at 112–113 argues for an early date, before A.D. 370. An English translation of the text can be found in Arthur J. Mason, *The Life & Martyrdom of St. Theodotus of Ancyra by Nilus* (Waterford, 2019 [1876]). However, this translation is grossly outdated and does not always offer an accurate rendering of the Greek. In this chapter, translations from the *Martyrdom of Theodotus* are my own.

From the beginning, the narrator (who identifies himself as Nilus at the end) presents Theodotus' profession as a prominent characteristic and distinguishing feature of the martyr. Far from obscuring the fact that Theodotus worked as a tavernkeeper, the hagiographer announces it clearly in the opening lines when, after stereotypical disclaimers regarding his own ineptitude as an author,[122] he introduces his subject: he will tell of the life and martyrdom of Theodotus,[123] and "how from a young age and in what way he carried out the profession of tavernkeeper."[124] The martyr's profession is mentioned immediately after the central and generic aim of relating the saint's life and death as a martyr.

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[118] Briefly, the story goes as follows: Theodotus meets a priest called Fronto and promises that, if he builds a sacred martyrion, the relics of a holy martyr will be provided. Later, seven old virginal nuns are captured and delivered to youngsters. However, the eldest one, Thecusa, can persuade them to respect their chastity. After they are martyred, their bodies are thrown into a pond, which is guarded to prevent anyone from fishing up their sacred remains for burial. Theodotus contrives a plan and, with miraculous help, retrieves their bodies from the water and buries them. This leads to his own martyrdom. His remains are also guarded, but the priest Fronto succeeds in stealing the body by getting the guards drunk on wine. He buries the remains in a sanctuary that he prepared on the designated spot upon the martyr's own request. Thus, the promise has been fulfilled. For a more detailed summary of the story, see Mitchell, "The Life of Saint Theodotus," 94.

[119] See as an example the digression at the beginning of ch. 11, where the narrative paints a detailed picture of the beautiful countryside setting in which the events take place. The scene recalls the classical *topos* of the *locus amoenus*. For more discussion of this passage, see Mitchell, "The Life of Saint Theodotus," 97.

[120] There are few studies of this text. They all focus on the question of the narrative's historicity: Hippolyte Delehaye, "La Passion de Saint Théodote d'Ancyre," *AB* 22 (1903): 320–328; Pio Franchi de' Cavalieri, "Osservazioni sopra alcuni atti di martiri da Settimio Severo a Massimino Daza," *Nuovo bullettino di archeologia cristiana* 10 (1904): 5–39, at 27–37; Henri Grégoire and Paul Orgels, "La passion de s. Théodote, oeuvre du Pseudo-Nil, et son noyau montaniste," *BZ* 44 (1951): 165–184; Mitchell, "The Life of Saint Theodotus," and David Potter, *Literary Texts and the Roman Historian* (London, 1999), 151–153.

[121] In the *Acta Sanctorum*, the text is helpfully divided in a prolog and four chapters. Franchi de' Cavalieri does not retain this division.

[122] For more on this *topos*, see Krueger, "Hagiography as an Ascetic Practice" and Pratsch, *Der hagiographische Topos*, 22–33.

[123] *Martyrdom of Theodotus*, p. 61, lines 10–11: τὸν βίον καὶ τὴν ἄθλησιν τοῦ ἁγίου μάρτυρος Θεοδότου.

[124] *Martyrdom of Theodotus*, p. 61, lines 11–12: πῶς ἐκ νεαρᾶς ἡλικίας καὶ τίνι τρόπῳ τὸ τῆς καπηλείας μετήρχετο πρᾶγμα.

However, it soon becomes evident that the hagiographer must also somehow defend and justify his subject (not just his own writing), and that the martyr's profession has something to do with that. After more reflections on his own inability to do the martyr justice, he concedes that some have, in fact, voiced objections against the martyr's former way of life as a layman[125]—a life that, it has been specified only moments before, consisted of tavernkeeping. More specifically, the hagiographer admits there were concerns that the martyr would have partaken of a life of worldly pleasures (ἡδονῶν).[126] His marriage appears to have been a problem as well,[127] and lastly his profession is mentioned as a source for doubt: he made a living as a tavernkeeper.[128] The narrative's opening thereby suggests that tavernkeeping was not an expected occupation for a saint or martyr. It implies that it was not a very respectable business either, whether from a social or a religious perspective.

Whether or not the martyr's profession was known to the text's prospective audience and potentially blemished his reputation is a question we will probably never be able to answer with certainty. The historicity of the depicted events is debated.[129] Yet, whatever the case may be, the hagiographer chose to feature the martyr's profession prominently but clearly also felt obliged to justify his subject on account of it. In fact, while acknowledging the criticism, the hagiographer's discourse appears designed to implicitly neutralize it at the same time. That Theodotus had a wife, for instance, is hardly something that should discredit a saint. While celibacy and chastity (even in marriage) were always preferable, there are numerous examples of saints who had been or were married.[130] Moreover, the addition that the martyr was connected to the woman through *lawful* marriage (γάμου νομίμου) aims to refute the charge immediately. It might well be that the hagiographer threw this concern into the mix to detract from the real problem—the martyr's profession—since it could easily be dismissed anyway. Indeed, the martyr's marital status is not mentioned again, whereas the hagiographer makes continued efforts to refute the other charges, as we will see. That Theodotus' profession is mentioned only lastly could also be a strategy to mitigate the allegation while it is being raised. Certainly, the idea that the martyr would have partaken of life’s pleasures (ἡδονῶν) already recalls the setting of the tavern, where wine and female company make for a place where such pleasures abound.[131] Yet, by postponing the explicit mention of the tavern business, the hagiographer successfully makes it seem like an afterthought.

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[125] *Martyrdom of Theodotus*, p. 61, lines 20–21: τινὲς μὲν τὸν μάρτυρά φασιν ὡς πρότερον τὸν κοινὸν καὶ ἀδιάφορον ἐπανῄρητο βίον.

[126] *Martyrdom of Theodotus*, p. 61, line 21: τὴν ἀπόλαυσιν τῶν ἡδονῶν μετεδίωκεν.

[127] *Martyrdom of Theodotus*, p. 61, lines 21–22: ὅτι γυναικὶ συνεβίου γάμου ζευχθεὶς νομίμου.

[128] *Martyrdom of Theodotus*, p. 61, line 22–p. 62, line 1: καὶ τῆς καπηλείας δὲ τὴν μέθοδον ἐνεπορεύετο συλλογῆς ἕνεκεν χρημάτων.

[129] See Mitchell, "The Life of Saint Theodotus," and above, n. 120. According to Mitchell (111), the *Life* presents an historically accurate account for a local audience. If that is correct, then it might indeed be that the martyr's profession was known to the audience and formed a blemish to his reputation that had to be wiped out.

[130] Examples are Galaktion and Episteme, Theodora of Alexandria and Mary the Younger. For more discussion, see Alexander Kazhdan, "Byzantine Hagiography and Sex in the Fifth to Twelfth Centuries," *DOP* 44 (1990): 131–143, at 132–134.

As a first explicit response to these issues, the hagiographer points out that Theodotus’ heroic death embellishes his questionable background.[132] In addition, having been a close friend of the martyr, he presents his own personal experience to weigh in on the matter.[133] “Say what you want” about the martyr, he therefore declares.[134] The message is that the narrative will present a trustworthy testimony justifying the celebration of the saint and defending his holiness despite his background and particularly his profession. The first paragraph thus introduces the idea that the martyr occupies a place on the margins, from which the hagiographer needs to rehabilitate him through the present writing. This paradox—Theodotus was both a tavernkeeper and a great martyr—seems to be of central interest to the hagiographer, since it is treated so prominently at the beginning of the narrative.

If the hagiographer’s first argument is that Theodotus’ martyr’s death makes up, so to speak, for the life he led earlier, he next goes one step further and discusses the intrinsic worth of the saint’s life preceding his martyrdom and specifically his tavernkeeping business. Indeed, in Theodotus’ case, the problem is not so much that he *used* to be a tavernkeeper. As we have seen in the previous sections of this chapter, there are many saints who start out as laymen/laywomen or even have a highly questionable course of life but then repent and reach holiness. Theodotus, on the other hand, never abandoned his profession. The rehabilitation of the martyr from the margins is thus not only a matter of showing where Theodotus stepped into normative/acclaimed behavior, leaving the margins behind (in his case: his physical struggles in defense of his faith). More than that, it seeks to question the marginal status of the position he previously occupied.

Therefore, the hagiographer reinvigorates his apology of the martyr’s life in the rest of the prolog. Theodotus battled the desires of the flesh,[135] was in no way a slave to lust,[136] and lived an ascetic lifestyle of temperance and fasting.[137] The hagiographer thus refutes the first allegation cited earlier (ἡδονῶν). In addition, by mentioning that he was inclined to poverty and charity,[138] the hagiographer nods to the specific problem of Theodotus' financial gain through his profession (the last of the allegations: τῆς καπηλείας (. . .) συλλογῆς ἕνεκεν χρημάτων), a topic that he returns to in more explicit terms shortly thereafter.[139]

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[131] As we will see below with regard to the *Story of Sergius the Dêmotês*, the tavern was typically a place where prostitutes dwelled; Sergius himself is portrayed in a tavern in the company of prostitutes. See also Dauphin, “Brothels, Baths and Babes,” 51 on the tavern as a place of promiscuity.

[132] *Martyrdom of Theodotus*, p. 62, lines 1–3: ἀλλ᾽ ὁ τελευταῖος ἀγὼν τοῦ μαρτυρίου καὶ τὸν ἔμπροσθεν βίον ἐπίσημον παρεσκεύασεν γενέσθαι, κοσμήσας τοῖς τελευταίοις τὰ πρῶτα.

[133] *Martyrdom of Theodotus*, p. 62, lines 3–5: ἡμεῖς δὲ λέγομεν ὡς ἐξ ἀρχῆς συνόντες τῷ μάρτυρι ἅπερ καὶ ἔγνωμεν καὶ ὄψεσιν αὐταῖς ἐθεασάμεθα. Since the text’s historicity is debated, it is also uncertain whether we should believe the hagiographer’s claim of having known the martyr personally. As I remark above, n. 20, the “témoin bien informé” was a common literary construction in hagiography. More discussion is offered by Mitchell, “The Life of Saint Theodotus,” 112, who argues in favor of the historicity of the claim.

[134] *Martyrdom of Theodotus*, p. 62, line 3: λεγέτω οὖν τις ὅπερ βούλεται.

[135] *Martyrdom of Theodotus*, p. 62, line 9: πρὸς τὰς σαρκικὰς ἐπιθυμίας πόλεμον πρῶτον ἀνείλατο.

Indeed, the third paragraph is explicitly preoccupied with the martyr's profession. Similarly as with prostitutes, one may expect that a tavernkeeper not only entertains sinful passions in his personal life but also introduces and sustains those in the lives of others, namely, his customers.[140] However, with Theodotus it is rather to the contrary: he led many away from sin.[141] What is more, it was his profession that enabled him to do so. The hagiographer inverts his audience's expectations by suggesting that a tavernkeeper is actually well-placed to look out for the spiritual well-being of others, because he finds himself at the source of sinful behavior. Theodotus used that opportunity to the betterment of his customers: "The tavern, trading its usual business for another, fulfilled a surveillance function under the guise of lowliness."[142] The idea that Theodotus would be in the tavern business for the sake of financial profit is thus successfully undermined. He even exerted himself to keep those who indulged in wine away from their drinking habits.[143] This flips the script on the typical image of the greedy tavernkeeper who is interested in selling as much wine as possible to the detriment of his customers' personal well-being. It is an image we are already familiar with from the *Miracles of Nicolas of Myra* discussed above. Granted, the *kapêlos* in the latter story eventually betters his ways: at the end, his mutilated hand is miraculously cured, triggering his edification, and he devotes the rest of his life to the saint's cult. However, this also means abandoning his profession. Not so for Theodotus, who is leading the life of a model Christian as *kapêlos*. Theodotus' philanthropy,[144] which manifested itself in many ways, stands in stark contrast to the greedy and violent *kapêlos* from Thamaris and John's story.

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[136] *Martyrdom of Theodotus*, p. 62, lines 10–11: οὔτε ἡδοναῖς ἐδούλωσεν ἑαυτὸν ἢ ἑτέρῳ λογισμῷ ῥυπαρῷ.

[137] *Martyrdom of Theodotus*, p. 62, line 12: οἱ καρποὶ τῆς ἀσκήσεως, lines 13–14: τῶν ἄλλων κατορθωμάτων ἁπάντων πρώτην ἀρχὴν τὴν ἐγκράτειαν ἐποιήσατο, and line 21: πρὸς τρυφὴν νηστείαν εἶχεν θεράπαινα.

[138] *Martyrdom of Theodotus*, p. 62, lines 16–17: [νομίσας] πλοῦτον δὲ καὶ δόξαν τὸ ἀνδρείως ἐγκαρτερεῖν τῇ πενίᾳ, and p. 62, lines 22–23: τὰ ὄντα τοῖς δεομένοις παρέχειν.

[139] See Karras, "Holy Harlots," esp. n. 7 on the problem of profit in relation to virtue and for further references on the general difficulty of how to behave morally in a money economy, an issue that is relevant both for tavernkeepers and prostitutes. Cf. Ward, *Harlots of the Desert*, 105.

[140] Indeed, as Ward, *Harlots of the Desert*, 80 notes and as we saw above (n. 65), the prostitute's sin does not only pertain to herself; her lifestyle is also dangerous to others.

[141] *Martyrdom of Theodotus*, p. 62, line 26: Πολλοὺς γοῦν ἀπὸ κακίας ἀπήλλαττεν.

[142] *Martyrdom of Theodotus*, p. 62, lines 31–32: ἡ γὰρ καπηλεία τὴν μέθοδον ἐναλλάξασα ἐπισκοπῆς ἔργον ἐπλήρου ἐν εὐτελεῖ προσχήματι. I believe that the word ἐπισκοπῆς in this particular sentence must be understood metaphorically. The Latin translation provided in the *Acta Sanctorum* (Maii IV, p. 150) renders ἐπισκοπῆς ἔργον as *munere Episcopali*. The same meaning was reiterated in Mason's translation (at 9; "office of a Bishop") and in later studies (e.g. Mitchell, "The Life of Saint Theodotus," 102). However, this obscures that a more general meaning of ἡ ἐπισκοπή is probably meant here; cf. G.W.H. Lampe, *A Patristic Greek Lexicon* (Oxford, 1961), 532: "A. *care, oversight, supervision*."

[143] *Martyrdom of Theodotus*, p. 63, line 2: ἄλλους δὲ οἴνῳ πολλῷ προσέχοντας ἀπέστρεφεν τῆς μέθης. Interestingly, drunkenness and alcohol (abuse) continue to be thematized in the narrative. The pagans who violently persecute the Christians, for instance, are said to revel in drinking-parties (p. 64, lines 1–2: ἐν εὐωχίαις τε ἦν καὶ παροινίαις καὶ κώμοις) and wreak havoc while drunk with malice as if with strong wine (p. 64, lines 3–4: τῇ ὑπερβολῇ μεθύοντες, ὥσπερ ἀκράτῳ, τῆς κακίας). While such drunk-

The question of the martyr's profession, and particularly his financial profit, is revisited in the narrative's first section (ch. 4–12). After painting a stark picture of the terrible persecution that hit the region under Theotecnus, the hagiographer now takes to explaining the merit of Theodotus' tavern in the context of the violence. Assuring the reader once more that the allegation regarding Theodotus' desire for financial gain is unfounded,[145] he illustrates his claim by narrating how the martyr turned his tavern into a safe haven for persecuted Christians.[146] He thus argues again for the intrinsic worth in this occupation and (implicitly) justifies why the martyr had never given up on his business. He may have been a *sitopoios* and an *oinochoos*, but he was one to those who suffered from extreme poverty as a result of the persecution.[147] This turns his occupation into a worthy cause that even saved lives. Hence, in addition to his many other good deeds (which include supporting the imprisoned Christians, taking care of the sick, emboldening the ones who were on trial to withstand the tortures, and burying the dead at the risk of severe punishment), he was a rescuer through his profession.

Finally, we learn that Theodotus was able to come up with a solution to a particular problem thanks to his profession. Theotecnus had concocted a plan to defile all bread and wine, so that no Christians would be able to offer a pure oblation. Theodotus therefore began to buy up goods from Christians and supplied them to other Christians to use for oblations or to give to the needy.[148] His virtuous business model is praised by the hagiographer in an elaborate *simile*, comparing Theodotus' tavern to Noah's ark:[149] just as there was no salvation outside the ark at the time of the flood,

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enness is condemned, being in the business of wine is not: the priest Fronto turns out to be a wine farmer at the end (ch. 32/33). The narrative seems to advocate a distinction between selling alcohol and using it, or between use and abuse.

[144] Cf. *Martyrdom of Theodotus*, p. 62, lines 34–35: πάνυ ὑπάρχων φιλάνθρωπος.

[145] *Martyrdom of Theodotus*, p. 64, lines 26–27: οὔτε γὰρ τὴν καπηλείαν, ὥς τινες ἔφασαν, κέρδους ἕνεκα μετήρχετο ἢ συλλογῆς χρημάτων.

[146] *Martyrdom of Theodotus*, p. 64, lines 28–29: ἐπενόησεν ὥστε τῶν διωκομένων τὸ καπηλεῖον λιμὴν σωτηρίας γενέσθαι.

[147] Cf. *Martyrdom of Theodotus*, p. 65, line 8: σιτοποιὸς δὲ καὶ οἰνοχόος τοῖς ὑπ᾽ ἐνδείας κακοχουμένοις.

[148] *Martyrdom of Theodotus*, ch. 7.

[149] *Martyrdom of Theodotus*, p. 65, lines 24–25: ἦν τὸ καπηλεῖον αὐτοῦ ὅπερ ἐπὶ τοῦ κατακλυσμοῦ ἡ κιβωτὸς Νῶε τοῖς ἐν αὐτῇ διασωθεῖσιν ἐγένετο.

there was no salvation for Christians outside his tavern at the time of the persecution. The tavern is celebrated as a place of rescue, where Christians could flee to, just like sailors would flee to shore as their boats are being tossed in a storm.[150] This anecdote offers a third illustration of the intrinsic value of the martyr's occupation. The hagiographer rests his case: "Such were the benefits (κέρδη) of the tavern business of the righteous one, these were the profits (πλεονεκτήματα) of the martyr's commerce."[151] Note that the terminology used by the hagiographer ironically plays on the idea of financial profit and inverts it, suggesting religious/moral benefit.

In brief, the prolog and the first chapter successfully depict Theodotus' business as a virtuous occupation, taking away any doubt about the martyr's character and his life as a layman engaged in a profitable business. The hagiographer's apology therefore rehabilitates the tavernkeeper from his position on the social and spiritual margins. Being a philanthropist and a pivotal figure in the local community of Christians, he appears to be neither socially nor spiritually marginalized. Towards the end of the narrative, moreover, we find another detail to the same effect. It turns out that the priest Fronto, who plays a role in the translation of the martyr's relics, is a wine farmer.[152] This is an obvious nod to the martyr's profession and further helps normalize it.

If we dig for deeper layers of meaning, however, the constructive view of the tavernkeeper does not remain intact. There is still a sense that tavernkeeping is a base occupation when taken at face value. The narrator suggests so, for instance, by declaring that Theodotus' beneficence was shrouded "under a guise (προσχήματι) of lowliness," as we saw above.[153] Similarly, that his aid to the Christians during the persecution went unnoticed (ἀνύποπτος) is credited to the fact that he had the "pretext (πρόφασιν)"[154] of his tavern. Twice the implication is that the martyr's profession made him appear of lower social/spiritual standing than he was in reality. Even if that appearance proved to be false, it arguably reflects poorly on the tavern business in general. We may note a similarity with the dynamics discussed above regarding the *Life of Symeon* the holy fool, whose holiness likewise remained undetected due to the pretext of marginality, and where this category included tavernkeepers as well.

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[150] *Martyrdom of Theodotus*, p. 65, lines 31–32: οὕτω γὰρ πάντες ἐκεῖ κατέφευγον, ὡς ναυτικοὶ σκάφην κατάγοιεν χειμαζομένην. The image of a storm at sea has been used before by the hagiographer to describe the cruel persecution (p. 63, line 37–p. 64, line 1: τὰ μὲν τῆς ἐκκλησίας, ὡς ἐν σάλῳ καὶ κλύδωνι χειμαζομένου πλοίου, εἶδες ἂν πάντα στρεφόμενα, ὁμοῦ περ πάσης ἐκδεχομένης, ὥσπερ κύματι, τῷ διωγμῷ καλυφθήσεσθαι). It ties in with the *simile* of Noah's ark.

[151] *Martyrdom of Theodotus*, p. 65, lines 32–33: ταῦτα τῆς καπηλείας τοῦ δικαίου τὰ κέρδη, ταῦτα τὰ πλεονεκτήματα τῆς ἐμπορίας τοῦ μάρτυρος. Although it is not mentioned explicitly, the story offers another demonstration of the fact that the martyr used his money for the good of the Christians when Theodotus travels to the countryside. As he meets some Christians, it is mentioned in passing that he had set them free earlier at great financial cost (p. 67, lines 25–27: τούτους ὁ δίκαιος περιδρομαῖς παντοίαις καὶ χρημάτων δόσεσιν μόλις ἣν ἐκ τῶν δεσμῶν ῥυσάμενος). This further appeases the problem of Theodotus' financial gain through his business, since it is a precondition for his philanthropic deeds, and it proves that he has no trouble parting with his wealth to use it for good causes.

[152] *Martyrdom of Theodotus*, p. 81, lines 8–9.

[153] *Martyrdom of Theodotus*, p. 62, line 32.

[154] *Martyrdom of Theodotus*, p. 65, lines 4–5.

In other words, it is the particular way in which Theodotus interprets his profession that deserves praise and makes him rise above an ordinary tavernkeeper. The marginal position of tavernkeepers is thereby not denied. Indeed, the narrative exploits that reputation to promote this particular tavernkeeper through an effect of surprise and contrast: Theodotus' virtuous life and death become even more remarkable given that he was 'just' a *kapêlos*. This double standard also comes to the fore during Theodotus' martyr trial. Even if he has proven himself exceptionally heroic (both by withstanding the most horrible tortures and through his bravery to help others before his own martyrdom), the governor seizes on what he misinterprets as a first sign of weakness to claim superiority over the martyr, insulting him on account of his profession: "I advise you, who are merely a tavernkeeper and an ordinary man, not to speak up in such a fashion against rulers."[155] Nonetheless, before subjecting him to tortures, Theotecnus was prepared to honor this ordinary tavernkeeper with the greatest honors in an attempt to win him over and make him reject his faith.[156] Theotecnus' inconsistency towards the martyr is symptomatic of the discrepancy between his social reputation as a tavernkeeper and his actual social impact as a pivotal figure in the Christian community. Moreover, after having successfully withstood the first round of tortures, Theodotus showcases his wounds to the public and declares, echoing the governor's previous insult, that God's incredible power "enables ordinary men to disdain rulers' threats."[157] This time, the marginal position of tavernkeepers is exploited by the martyr himself to rhetorically underline his own position in the *spiritual* center, implicitly contrasting it, of course, with the governor's position on the spiritual margins.

In conclusion, Theodotus' image is complex and unique. Despite his low-brow profession, he is an extraordinary character of high social and particularly spiritual standing who manages to turn his occupation into a virtuous cause. This central paradox is captured in the rhetorical question posed by the hagiographer while defending Theodotus' virtue: "Who would have suspected that such godliness lay hidden in a tavernkeeper?"[158] The implied answer is: no one. And that is why Theodotus is so exceptional. His uniqueness adds to his own personal glory as a Christian martyr, as the narrator intends to communicate with his narrative. However, it also underlines the

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155 *Martyrdom of Theodotus*, p. 78, lines 11–12: πείσω δέ σε οἰνοπώλην ὄντα καὶ ἄνθρωπον εὐτελῆ τοιαῦτα κατὰ ἀρχόντων μὴ λέγειν.

156 *Martyrdom of Theodotus*, ch. 23.

157 *Martyrdom of Theodotus*, p. 78, line 37–p. 79, line 1: [τῆς δυνάμεως τοῦ Χριστοῦ μου τὸ παράδοξον] παρασκευάζει τοὺς εὐτελεῖς καταφρονεῖν ἀρχοντικῶν ἀπειλῶν.

158 *Martyrdom of Theodotus*, p. 65, lines 1–2: τίς γὰρ ἂν καὶ ὑπονοήσειεν ἐν καπήλῳ τοιαύτην κρύπτεσθαι θεοσέβειαν;

marginal position of ‘ordinary’ tavernkeepers, who stand in his shadow. Indeed, their marginal position is exploited to rhetorically enhance the portrait of Theodotus. On the one hand, tavernkeepers could be proud to have such a great paragon of Christianity counted among their ranks. On the other, the narrative process of rehabilitating the saint from the margins once again inevitably draws attention to the very marginality it seeks to overcome.

Finally, I wish to discuss a pair of texts in which men associated with the theater (but also with the tavern, as we will see) are revealed as virtuous men and indeed as saints. I begin with the *Story of Sergius, the Dêmotês of Alexandria*.[159] It features a complex structure of embedded tales. The central story is presented as the testimony of an old monk, Pyrrhus, who told it to another monk named Elpidius as they encounter each other in the inner desert. Elpidius’ journey is in turn presented as a tale found in an ancient book by a certain monk Ambakoum, who is the primary narrator’s source. The structure of the narrative can thus be summarized as follows: primary narrator < Ambakoum < book < Pyrrhus (to Elpidius).[160] Pyrrhus’ story revolves around his meeting with a *dêmotês* called Sergius. It is as part of Pyrrhus’ testimony that we listen to Sergius himself, who tells Pyrrhus of events from his past life. Hence, the structure can be expanded as follows: primary narrator < Ambakoum < book < Pyrrhus (to Elpidius) < Sergius. Sergius the *dêmotês* is located at the very heart of the Chinese box structure which shapes the narrative. This suggests that he is the true protagonist of the entire tale.[161]

The *fabula* of the central testimony by Pyrrhus initiates when he, after spending many years in the desert, falls prey to thoughts of vainglory: “Some time ago my heart was puffed up by the machinations of the perverse demon into thinking that I had attained a stature superior to that of all the fathers leading the ascetic life in the desert," he admits to Elpidius.[162] Indeed he wondered whether he might find anyone on earth who was his spiritual match,[163] and he prayed fervently to God to reveal such a man to him. The implication is that Pyrrhus was hoping that he might be found on equal standing with a great and important ascetic.[164] In a word, he was looking to flatter himself. When a divine voice revealed that his equal was a certain Sergius, a *dêmotês*, Pyrrhus was clearly disheartened by this outcome: "Miserable Pyrrhus!" he whined to himself, "Look at all those years you have spent in the service of God (. . .) only to be set in the same rank as a *dêmotês*!"[165] Although he does not know Sergius at all, the mere fact that he is a *dêmotês* is enough for Pyrrhus to think so lowly of him that he is even tempted to disbelieve the revelation.

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[159] It is found in the *Sayings*, ed. Paschos, *Νέον Μητερικόν*, ch. 42 (“Περὶ Σεργίου τοῦ δημότου καὶ τοῦ ἀββᾶ Πύρρου”). However, it is also included in the edition of the *Spiritually Beneficial Tales* by Paul of Monembasia, ed. John Wortley, *Les récits édifiants de Paul, évêque de Monembasie et d’autres auteurs* (Paris, 1987), 126–137 under the category of related tales by other authors. An English translation is available in John Wortley, *The Spiritually Beneficial Tales of Paul, Bishop of Monembasia and of Other Authors* (Kalamazoo, 1994), 119–126. In what follows, I quote Paschos’ edition and cite Wortley’s translation.

[160] Note that not each frame is resumed at the end. After Pyrrhus’ testimony, the story about Elpidius is briefly resumed, but the narrative does not climb back up to the level of Ambakoum or the primary narrator. Moreover, the narrative framework of Elpidius’ tale is not entirely consistent: at the beginning, Elpidius is referenced in the third person, whereas at the end, when his story is resumed, he appears as a first-person narrator.

[161] A comparable structure is found in the *Life of Theoctiste of Lesbos*, where the saint, Theoctiste, indeed appears at the heart of the narrative. On the intricate structure of the latter, see among others Ingela Nilsson, “The Same Story, but Another: A Reappraisal of Literary Imitation in Byzantium,” in *Imitatio – Aemulatio – Variatio: Akten des internationalen wissenschaftlichen Symposions zur byzantinischen Sprache und Literatur (Wien, 22.-25. Oktober 2008)*, eds. Andreas Rhoby and Elisabeth Schiffer (Vienna, 2010), 195–208, at 203–205.

At this point, a remark about the meaning of the term *dêmotês* is in order. While it usually has the meaning of "member of a circus faction,"[166] in this story, as Wortley observes, it seems to denote the commissioner of the city's prostitutes.[167] As we have seen above, the contexts of the theater and of prostitution are often conflated. Therefore it does not seem unreasonable that the *dêmotês* (traditionally a circus fan) has now become a sort of pimp.[168] For the same reason, it is not unlikely that Sergius' character would have called to mind the theatrical world.

But let us return to Pyrrhus. When the revelation has been repeated a second time, he resolves to personally seek out this *dêmotês* to see what kind of man he really is. Sergius then tells the monk two anecdotes which prove his great virtue and selflessness. According to the first, he once met a noblewoman in a tavern who was working for wages after her husband had been imprisoned due to an unrepaid debt. Although he initially wanted to sleep with her, Sergius, after learning her story and seeing her plight, respected her chastity and gave her the money she needed to set free her husband without recompense. According to the second, he saved seventy nuns from sexual defilement by a lecherous pagan eparch by secretly moving them to a different location and dressing up seventy prostitutes as nuns to take their place in the monastery. I will return to these stories in more detail below. When Sergius is done telling Pyrrhus about these events, the latter, humbled, must recognize his spiritual superior in the *dêmotês*.

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[162] *Story of Sergius*, lines 25–27.

[163] *Story of Sergius*, line 29: εἰ ἆρά γε καὶ ἔστι τις ἐπὶ γῆς ἐπ’ ἴσοις μου.

[164] Alternatively, he might even have hoped that no such man would be found, which would point to his spiritual superiority. However, by the same token, it would mean his falling prey to extreme pride and his spiritual downfall.

[165] *Story of Sergius,* lines 32–34.

[166] This is the way in which it is used in the *Life of Symeon*, for instance (e.g. p. 81, line 14).

[167] Sergius' function and responsibilities are quite specifically described at lines 43–46. See John Wortley, "The Spirit of Rivalry in Early Christian Monachism," *GRBS* 33 (1992): 383–404, at 192 and Wortley, *The Spiritually Beneficial Tales*, 196.

[168] However, as explained by Giuseppe Schirò, "Un significato sconosciuto di 'Δήμοτης,'" *Rivista di cultura Classica e medioevale* VII (1965): 1006–1016, the *dêmotês* appears to have been an official function and would have fulfilled a more sophisticated role than ordinary pimps.

John Wortley observes this story's basic pattern in a number of hagiographical tales.[169] Such stories of monastic rivalry often feature a figure of humble standing,[170] with whom the central monastic figure is urged to compare himself only to find that he falls short, as the character in question turns out to be well ahead of the monk in holiness. (In fact, the *Life of Mary of Egypt* also displays this pattern, since Zosimas' journey is triggered by thoughts of vainglory.)[171] As part of this plot-type and the lesson in humility it conveys, Sergius' profession is a key element.

The same is true for a lute-player, featured in the *Life of Theodulus the Stylite* (BHG 1785).[172] This little-known *Life* of a pillar saint consists of three chapters. The third depicts the saint asking God to reveal to him with whom he has his lot.[173] The response is Cornelius the lute-player (πάνδουρος). The narrator is explicit that "he was told this in order that he would not be overcome by pride and, exalted, would be ensnared by the Devil."[174] What follows echoes the Story of Sergius the *dêmotês*. First, Theodulus' reaction to the revelation is comparable to that of Pyrrhus: despair.[175] His reaction ensues likewise from his prejudice vis-à-vis the *pandouros* and, in particular, the theatrical scene to which he belongs (this time, indeed, the context is straightforwardly theatrical).

> μετὰ πανδούρου, Δέσποτα, ὁ σὸς δοῦλος κληρονομεῖ; μετὰ πανδούρου, Δέσποτα, ὁ ἐν τοσούτοις ἔτεσι κοπιάσας καὶ μοχθήσας; (. . .) μετὰ πανδούρου, Δέσποτα, ὁ ἐν τῷ κίονι ἐστηλωμένος; μετὰ τοῦ ἀπὸ σκηνῆς, ὁ ἐν νηστείαις καὶ ἀγρυπνίαις; μετὰ αὐλητοῦ δαιμόνων, ὁ ἐν ψαλμοῖς καὶ ὕμνοις ἄϋπνος διατελῶν; (ch. 13)
>
> With a lute-player, Lord, am I, your servant, to be compared? With a lute-player, Lord, does the one who struggled and suffered hardships for so many years have his lot? (. . .) With a lute-player, Lord, the one who stood on a pillar? With a man of the stage, the one devoted to fasting and vigils? With a demon-flutist, the one who passes sleepless nights singing psalms and hymns?

For Theodulus, too, being put on a par with a 'mere' flute-player is experienced as degrading—he calls it *atimos*, dishonorable.[176] Nevertheless, Theodulus does not fall into disbelief upon hearing the revelation, as Pyrrhus does, but assumes that he must have sinned unknowingly.[177] The *Life of Theodulus* therefore goes less far in its depiction of the monk's initial arrogance. This is not surprising, since Theodulus is the holy protagonist of this narrative, whereas, as we have seen, Pyrrhus arguably is not. Still, even if he recognizes that God's ways are inscrutable,[178] Theodulus remains afflicted by the idea that he has his lot with a *pandouros* and decides to seek him out, just as Pyrrhus did with Sergius.

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[169] Wortley, "The Spirit of Rivalry."

[170] However, not every story fits this pattern, as Wortley, "The Spirit of Rivalry," 388 notes with regard to the tale of the Emperor Theodosius II and a Jordanite Monk.

[171] *Life of Mary of Egypt*, ch. 3: "He was disturbed, as he said, by certain thoughts, namely, that he had become perfect in all practices and did not need anyone else's teaching at all." See also Cox Miller, "Is There a Harlot," n. 14.

[172] I follow the edition in *AASS* Maii VI, pp. 756–765. Translations are my own. For more discussion on this text, see Hippolyte Delehaye, *Les saints Stylites* (Brussels, 1923), cxviii–cxx and Wortley, "The Spirit of Rivalry," 393–394.

[173] *Life of Theodulus*, ch. 12: σύν τινι μέλλω κληρονομεῖν τὴν σὴν βασιλείαν;

[174] *Life of Theodulus*, ch. 12: Τοῦτο δὲ ἐῤῥέθη αὐτῷ, ἵνα ἔπαρσις αὐτῷ μὴ γένηται, καὶ ὑψωθεὶς παγιδευθῇ ὑπὸ τοῦ διαβόλου.

[175] *Life of Theodulus*, ch. 13: δακρύσας / Οἴμοι τῷ ἀθλίῳ καὶ ἀπεγνωσμένῳ!

[176] *Life of Theodulus*, ch. 13: ἡ ἄτιμος αὐτὴ συγκαταρίθμησις.

Moreover, when asked what good he has done in his life, Cornelius tells a story that is almost identical to the first anecdote told by Sergius.[179] He met a noblewoman whose husband was imprisoned due to unrepaid debt. Whereas the noblewoman from Sergius' tale was doing handwork to gain money, this noblewoman resorted to begging. In the first tale, it was Sergius who then proposed to sleep with the woman for money, a proposal to which the woman only reluctantly agreed and from which Sergius himself eventually refrained. In this story, it was the noblewoman's own decision to prostitute herself, since begging did not turn the profit she needed. The woman from Sergius' tale not only lost her husband but also her children, who were sold into slavery. In this tale, no children are mentioned. Despite these small differences, the two tales run mostly parallel. Cornelius, like Sergius, respects the woman's chastity and gives her the money she needs.

The two narratives develop complex and interesting dynamics regarding social and spiritual status, similar to those that have been discussed above in the context of other narratives. Sergius and Cornelius live on the social margins, yet are revealed to be spiritually central figures, to everyone's surprise (even their own). The theme of secret sanctity is here particularly relevant and once again forms a point of comparison with the *Life of Symeon the fool*.[180] Indeed, the one who may seem socially and spiritually superior at first (the monk) is humbled and turns out to be inferior to these hidden saints. The entire story revolves around this role reversal. As we have seen, the elements of role reversal and surprise are also part of Theodotus' characterization as a virtuous tavernkeeper. Moreover, despite the differences, the positions of these figures are not entirely dissimilar to those of repentant harlots either, where role reversal takes place through a radical transformation from sinner to saint. On the one hand, the reversal promotes the *dêmotês*/*pandouros* from his marginal position. On the other, they are somehow belittled at the same time: the whole point is precisely that such spiritual centrality is *unexpected* of a person of their position. Their professional lives, once again, remain peripheral to their spiritual identities.

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[177] *Life of Theodulus*, ch. 13: Ἐν τίνι ἆρα πλημμελήσας παρήκουσα ἐντολήν σου; Μὴ ἆρα ἐν ἀγνοίᾳ ἐκηλιδώθην;

[178] *Life of Theodulus*, ch. 13: ἀνεξερεύνητα τὰ κρίματα αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀνεξιχνίαστοι αἱ ὁδοὶ αὐτοῦ.

[179] This is not the place to present a detailed discussion of the relation of the two texts. According to Wortley, "The Spirit of Rivalry," 393, the *Story of Sergius the Dêmotês* should be regarded as a late exponent of the genre and be dated to the 10th century. The *Life of Theodulus* certainly postdates the 4thcentury but is otherwise difficult to date. It is not unlikely that both derive from a common source. Moreover, Wortley, "The Spirit of Rivalry," 393 and 399–401 points out that there is a resemblance with yet another story, belonging to the so-called Paphnutius-cycle from the *History of the Monks in Egypt*, or *Historia monachorum in Aegypto*, dated to the late 4th century; see Andrew Cain, *The Greek* Historia Monachorum in Aegypto*: Monastic Hagiography in the Late Fourth Century* (Oxford, 2016). There, the Sergius/Cornelius-figure is a flute-player as well. Due to limited space, I will not offer a more detailed analysis of the latter story here, but some of the general observations I make regarding Sergius/Cornelius apply to it as well. Finally, the Talmud also features a strikingly similar story about a man called Pentekaka ('five sins') who both engages prostitutes and works at the theater, yet who turns out to be virtuous: see Martin Jacobs, "Theatres and Performances as Reflected in the Talmud Yerushalmi," in *The Talmud Yerushalmi and Graeco-Roman Culture,* vol. I, ed. Peter Schäfer (Tübingen, 1998), 327–347, at 341–343.

Both narratives enhance the theme of role reversal and the element of surprise in several ways. First, this is achieved in the initial meeting between the monk/saint and the *dêmotês*/*pandouros*. Pyrrhus finds Sergius drinking in a tavern with a prostitute on his lap,[181] while Cornelius is found in the hippodrome, with his musical instrument in one hand and a prostitute in the other:

> (. . .) γυμνοκέφαλον κοσμοφοροῦσαν ἀτάκτως καὶ ἀσέμνως, ἥτις περιεῤῥάπιζεν αὐτὸν καὶ περιετρύχιζεν[182] μετὰ ἀπρεποὺς γέλωτος. (ch. 14)
>
> (. . .) who [the prostitute] was bare-headed and wore indecent and scandalous adornments, and lashed round about him and disheveled his garments with improper giggling.

In both cases, this sight is clearly meant to scandalize not just Pyrrhus/Theodulus but also the reader. More specifically, it serves to enhance the surprise effect incurred by the revelation of this character's virtue. In the Sergius tale, moreover, the initial situation is immediately reversed when Pyrrhus asks the *dêmotês* whether they can retreat to his home for conversation. Sergius is under the impression that the monk is making him a sexual offer and "was secretly scandalized." He wondered "how one so advanced in years (and given his way of life) could have fallen victim to such temptation."[183] This achieves two things. On the one hand, it demonstrates that Sergius likewise holds others to standards corresponding to his own image of their social and spiritual identity. On the other, the fact that, in turn, he is the one to be scandalized, hints at his own moral and spiritual integrity. In the mind of the reader, the tables are already beginning to turn. Sergius starts to behave like the virtuous one, while the reader is reminded that Pyrrhus (“advanced in years” and practicing a certain “way of life”) actually falls short of his reputation. Reinforcing this interpretation is the term temptation (πάθος), which, at least to the narratee, is ambiguous. It not only references the alleged lust which Sergius wrongly suspects might be the motivation behind Pyrrhus’ request; it also recalls the actual temptation of pride which we know is the real reason for it.

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[180] As is noted by Ivanov, "From 'Secret Servants of God' to 'Fools for Christ's Sake,'" 188–190.

[181] *Story of Sergius*, lines 43–44: ἔδειξάν μοι αὐτὸν καθήμενον ἐν καπηλείῳ, μετὰ πορνῶν σπαταλῶντα καὶ στρηνιῶντα.

[182] The *Acta Sanctorum* online reads περιετρίχισεν. I corrected this form to περιετρύχιζεν based on my consultation of the edited manuscript (Firenze, BML Plut. 09. 14, fol. 145v; available online), which clearly reads περιετρίχιζεν, presumably spelled with an iota instead of an upsilon in the fourth syllable under the influence of itacism. I consider περιτρυχίζω as causative from τὸ τρῦχος (tattered garment). I thank Klaas Bentein for his help in determining this meaning.

[183] *Story of Sergius*, lines 55–59.

Next, to Sergius’ surprise, Pyrrhus wants to hear about his way of life and “what good you have accomplished.”[184] Sergius’ surprise derives not only from the fact that he first believed Pyrrhus had different motives for wanting to enter his home. It also derives from the question itself. “You found me in the tavern eating, drinking and making merry with whores,” he replies, “(. . .) and you have just told me you want to hear about my life?”[185] His astonishment adds to the central theme of role reversal; Sergius himself does not expect that he—a *dêmotês*—would be the appropriate recipient of such a question. At the same time, that is (especially in the context of a tale about humility) exactly what makes him spiritually advanced. Sergius’ reluctance[186] to share his good deeds is far removed from the boastfulness that characterizes the monk, who, after hearing Sergius’ first anecdote, is quick to conclude that “it is indeed with justice that I was ranked with you.”[187] It takes a second anecdote for Pyrrhus to realize that Sergius is not his equal but in fact his superior. Sergius, rather than taking pride in his own virtue, repeatedly admits to being a sinner.[188]

Cornelius reacts in much the same way to Theodulus’ request to reveal his good deeds. He is hesitant and even ashamed to share his story,[189] clearly not realizing himself the virtue it displays. And he, too, is initially dumbstruck by the question[190] and does not seem to take it seriously: “don’t mock me, who am a miserable wretch, for I am not of your standing (προσχήματός). And what shall I tell you, who are a man of God? Did you not see whence I came, and with whom, and what I was carrying?”[191] Cornelius contrasts his own status of lute-player (“whence I came” / “what I was carrying”) with Theodulus’ monastic status (“man of God”). The word choice of πρόσχημα is interesting. As part of Cornelius’ address to Theodulus, it conveys ‘character’ or perhaps ‘monastic character.’ Yet, as we have seen above in the context of the *Martyrdom of Theodotus*, the term can also have the meaning of ‘semblance’ or ‘false appearance.'[192] Does the text subtly signal to the reader that the superficial contrast between low and high standing, as sketched by Cornelius, hides a deeper truth which inverts that hierarchy? This deeper meaning is probably not intended by Cornelius the character in the reality of the story world. We would therefore be dealing with a form of authorial communication behind the character's back, so to speak. We cannot know whether the author indeed chose this wording to imply a deeper message based on the double meaning of πρόσχημα. Nevertheless, at the very least, we might say that this is a potential effect of the text.

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[184] *Story of Sergius*, line 62.

[185] *Story of Sergius*, lines 63–67.

[186] Pyrrhus must press him to speak up and he consents only after learning about the divine voice: cf. *Story of Sergius*, lines 68–73.

[187] *Story of Sergius*, lines 109–110.

[188] *Story of Sergius*, lines 111–112 and 125.

[189] *Life of Theodulus*, ch. 15: αἰδοῦμαι γὰρ εἰπεῖν ἐπί σου τὰ αἰσχρά μου καὶ ἀπεγνωσμένα ἔργα.

[190] Cf. *Life of Theodulus*, ch. 15: περιεβλέπετο αὐτὸν ἄνω καὶ κάτω.

[191] *Life of Theodulus*, ch. 15: μὴ παῖζέ με τὸν ἁμαρτωλόν, οὐ γάρ εἰμι τοῦ προσχήματός σου. Τί εἴπω σοι, ἄνθρωπε τοῦ Θεοῦ; οὐκ ἐθεάσω με πόθεν ἦλθον, καὶ μετὰ τίνος, καὶ τί βαστάζω;

Finally, in the Sergius tale, the Chinese box structure also contributes to the mechanism of unexpected role reversal. Not one but three monastic figures (Ambakoum, Elpidius, Pyrrhus) precede Sergius in this narrative. Each occupies a narrative layer that leads to the central character. As we move forward along these layers and advance deeper into the text—and, according to generic conventions, into the monastic desert—the expectation is that each figure we encounter will be holier than the previous. Double surprise, then, when at the very heart of this mechanism is found a *dêmotês*, a layman in an urban setting, and when he indeed proves to be holier than all the others. Note also that the specific detail that he was found in a tavern is not coincidental in this context and helps convey the surprise effect. As Wortley remarks, "the tavern is the very antithesis of 'the desert', because it is in a sense the epitome of all that is evil not only in 'the world', but in the world's worst aspect: the city."[193] The tavern setting thus further inverts the conventions of the ascetic desert story.

Turning to the *Life of Theodulus* again, we should finally remark that the theme of inversion is further emphasized as the saint himself, even before meeting Cornelius, remembers several biblical examples of remarkable role reversals,[194] such as the story of Zacchaeus, the tax collector at whose house Jesus chooses to stay to the dismay of the people (Luke 19), that of the other tax collector in the gospels who eventually became an evangelist, Matthew, and that of the persecutor of Christians who became an apostle, referring, of course, to Paul.

All these elements contribute to the theme of role reversal, the inversion of expectations, and a deep sense of surprise. This places the *dêmotês*/*pandouros* in a straddling position: it marginalizes and de-marginalizes him at the same time. In both cases, the moral virtue of the character outweighs his reprehensible lifestyle. The message for the monk (and for the reader, by extension) is clear: if even a *dêmotês*/*pandouros* is capable of such selflessness and moral/spiritual integrity (they do not even realize their own virtue), then how much more should the monk/the reader.[195] The character of the *dêmotês*/*pandouros* can thus be interpreted as a device for shaming others, an idea coined by Clark in the context of female saint's *Lives* and particularly relevant to holy harlots.[196] Yet, when it comes to these figures themselves, this means, just as with Theodotus the tavernkeeper, that they somehow derive their spiritual identity from their low standing. The marginal status of these figures is integral to the lesson in humility and necessary to make the plot work. The *Life of Theodulus* is even explicit that the revelation about the *pandouros* was meant to put the saint in his place. Even if this particular *pandouros* turns out to be virtuous and was underestimated by the saint, his very status must be understood as marginal to have the desired effect of humbling the saint.

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[192] Lampe, *A Patristic Greek Lexicon*, 1185.

[193] Wortley, *The Spiritually Beneficial Tales*, 196. On the *topos* of the city as a place of sin, see also Saradi, "The City in Byzantine Hagiography," 421–422 and 424–425. Nevertheless, her chapter also reveals the complexity of the hagiographical image of the city. Johnson, "Between Madness and Holiness," 264 nuances the strong distinction between desert and city in the *Life of Symeon Salos*.

[194] *Life of Theodulus*, ch. 13.

Before concluding, let me briefly dedicate a few words to the characters in the embedded stories by the virtuous *dêmotês* from the Sergius tale. In particular, the second anecdote deserves our attention here, since it features seventy prostitutes. They are procured by Sergius to take the place of seventy nuns after the pagan eparch has requested to sleep with one of the virgins every day for seventy days. The ruse is successful. Moreover, when the nuns return to the convent, the prostitutes no longer wish to leave but join their ranks, bidding their former lives goodbye. Again, prostitutes are portrayed as penitents in a conversion story. This embedded narrative therefore fits the same context as the material I discussed above in section 2.1. Playing an important role in the resolution of the story and sacrificing themselves to save others, they are depicted in a positive light.

However, there is another side to their image as well. Even if it is for a worthy cause, the ruse demands that the prostitutes' bodies are exploited in much the same way as before. Hence, the women are portrayed in a marginal position, outranked by the seventy original nuns. This is all the more so when their story is read in light of the anecdote that precedes. Whereas the body of the noblewoman from the first tale must remain undefiled at any cost, it is unproblematic to use the bodies of the prostitutes when the need arises. The noblewoman maintains her original status,[197] even if she has, in reality, been reduced to total poverty and social ruin (her husband is in prison, her children sold into slavery, and she is slaving away for what little money she can get). Regardless of her actual socio-economic position, her social identity dictates her spiritual position. In this equation, the prostitutes can never fully recover from their positions on the margins, even if, comparing stories like that of Pansemne, one realizes that these prostitutes were not necessarily poor or socially isolated.[198] Nevertheless, in this text, they clearly do not attain the same rank as the socially and spiritually central figures of the story.

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[195] Note that the readership of hagiographic literature was probably composed, at least in part, of monastic circles; see, e.g., Claudia Rapp, "Figures of Female Sanctity: Byzantine Edifying Manuscripts and Their Audience," *DOP* 50 (1996): 313–332, at 314–316. Hence, in many cases the reader might indeed have been able to identify easily with the monastic figure from the story and taken the same lesson from it.

[196] Elizabeth A. Clark, "The Lady Vanishes: Dilemmas of a Feminist Historian after the 'Linguistic Turn,'" *Church History* 67/1 (1998): 1–31, at 29. It is especially prominent in the *Life of Pelagia*: in one of the opening scenes, Nonnus interprets the harlot's devotion to her body and her lovers as a sign of his own failure to care for his soul and for God with the same dedication (for discussion, see Constantinou, *Female Corporeal Performances*, 73–74), and at the end, after the saint's death and her discovery as a woman, it is exclaimed that God has many secret servants, "not just men but also women" (*Life of Pelagia*, ch. 49, ed. Flusin, "Les textes grecs").

[197] Although there is no second anecdote about prostitutes in the *Life of Theodulus*, the noblewoman in that text also maintains her status. This is signaled, for instance, by the detail that she was ashamed

3 Conclusion

In this chapter, I have discussed a number of Greek hagiographical texts in which prostitutes, actors, and tavernkeepers appear either as side characters or as saints. While the overview is not exhaustive,[199] the dynamics found in the different narratives were often comparable and may therefore signal a general trend. In each case, the narrative portrait of the character(s) in question was found to be complex, often combining contradictory tendencies. The prostitutes, actors, and tavernkeepers featured as side characters in the *Life of Symeon Salos* are both spiritually promoted and degraded through the company of the saint. While they display spiritual potential, they remain marginal within society and in relation to the saint. Repentant prostitutes embody that same paradox. The hagiographical evidence attests to the fact that the social positions of prostitutes seem to have differed quite substantially from one case to the other. Nevertheless, each of the loose women discussed above is depicted as a *spiritual* outsider and, without exception, each undergoes a transformation through repentance. Moving from the spiritual margins into the spiritual center, they are presented as epitomes of both sanctity and sin. The result is a paradoxical image, expressing Christianity's mechanisms of exclusion and inclusion alike. Other saints, such as Theodotus and Sergius, combine their professions with sanctity. Their professional lives are thus not presented as sinful chapters *preceding* repentance and holiness.

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to resort to begging (*Life of Theodulus*, ch. 17: ἀποκρύπτουσα μέντοι αἰδουμένη τὸ ἀτιμασθέν μου πρόσωπον).

[198] See above, n. 61 and 87, and Constantinou, *Female Corporeal Performances*, 84 and 87 for more discussion.

[199] Texts I did not discuss but which could be explored as well include: *Miracles of Artemius* 17, eds. Virgil S. Crisafulli and John W. Nesbitt, *The Miracles of St. Artemios: A Collection of Miracle Stories by an Anonymous Author of Seventh Century Byzantium* (Leiden, 1997), featuring an actor; *Miracles of Cosmas and Damian* 5.39, ed. Ludwig Deubner, *Kosmas und Damian: Texte und Einleitung* (Leipzig, 1907), featuring a *mimos*/*thumelikos*; and the *Life of Matrona* ch. 5, *AASS* Nov. III, pp. 790–813, featuring a converted actor called Barnabas; cf. *Sayings*, ed. Paschos, *Νέον Μητερικόν*, ch. 76: "Περὶ τοῦ μίμου, τοῦ ὀνομαζομένου Βαβύλα."

Nevertheless, their marginal status is not denied either but used to rhetorically enhance their position in the spiritual center, which they occupy in spite of their lowbrow professions. The contradictory image of these characters is ultimately not far removed from that of the repentant saint, whose life as a harlot is made meaningful through her later life as an ascetic, and whose holiness will always remain rooted in her sinful past. According to Burrus, the holy harlot—an oxymoronic expression in itself—is characterized by a profound ambivalence: they, too, point rather to the coincidence of sinfulness (or marginality) and sanctity (or centrality) than to their mutual exclusivity.[200] Moreover, Sergius the *dêmotês* is depicted as a secret saint, and so is his doublet Cornelius the flute-player. Hence, the element of role reversal, which characterizes repentant harlots, who transform from sinners into saints, is inherent in those narratives as well. This generates a similarly conflicted image, as the lowliness (both social and spiritual) of their professions is integral to the lesson in humility conveyed by the story. All in all, hagiography reserves a spot at the table for prostitutes, actors, and tavernkeepers, showcasing their potential for inclusion in the spiritual community. Yet, the narratives suggest at the same time that they do not occupy the seat of honor. It may not be a coincidence that we encountered these figures as secondary characters in the *Life* of a holy fool (Symeon) and in the *Life* of a pillar saint (Theodulus), two diametrically opposed holy types who respectively hide and showcase their virtue in spectacular ways; both therefore illustrate the paradox of holiness, which "can't lay claim to itself."[201] In the context of this paradox, the examined professions, stuck in a limbo between sin and virtue, prove fruitful to think with.

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[200] Burrus, *The Sex Lives of Saints*, 130–131. Cox Miller, "Is There a Harlot," discusses the paradoxical quality of the portrayals of holy harlots from a gender perspective.

[201] Formisano, "Text, Authenticity, and Imagination," 123. For more on the paradox of ascetic celebrity in the context of stylitism, I refer to Andrew S. Jacobs, "'I Want to Be Alone': Ascetic Celebrity and the Splendid Isolation of Simeon Stylites," in *The Garb of Being: Embodiment and the Pursuit of Holiness in Late Ancient Christianity*, eds. Georgia Frank, Susan R. Holman, and Andrew S. Jacobs (New York, 2020), 145–168. I have also highlighted the importance of secret sanctity as a context for the depiction of the examined professions in hagiography; cf. n. 36.

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